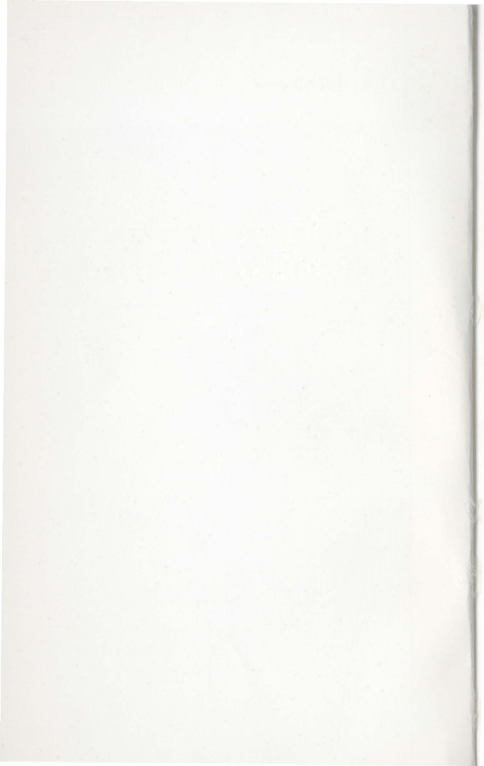


L. Minayev

**ORIGIN AND PRINCIPLES
OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM**





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L. Minayev

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INTRODUCTION

For many centuries people who were oppressed by exploitation and poverty longed for a free and happy life. They hoped the day would come when there would be no more oppression and enslavement of man by man and all would enjoy equal rights, when all wealth, all the fruits of human labour, would belong to those who created them—the working people—and there would be an abundance of material benefits.

For a long time, no one knew how to realise this dream, how to achieve a better life. Scientific socialism provided the answer. It succeeded unscientific, Utopian Socialism, which was no more than an idle dream about the future society. Karl Marx (1818-1883), Frederick Engels (1820-1895) and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870-1924) transformed the age-old yearning for a happy society of peace, labour, freedom and equality into a scientific theory. They showed the way to it and indicated

the revolutionary forces which could destroy the old world and build a new, socialist society.

Scientific socialism is a science of the socialist revolution and the ways of building a socialist society. In keeping with the conclusions of Marx's historical materialism and economic doctrine, it equips the working people with a knowledge of the laws of the struggle for emancipation, and charts society's road to socialism.

Socialism has ceased to be merely a theory. The science of the building of socialism has been tested by the experience of the socialist countries. The peoples of the Soviet Union, guided by the theory of scientific socialism, were the first in history to break the chains of capitalist slavery and build socialism. Socialist society is now a living reality. After the Second World War further socialist revolutions triumphed in several European and Asian countries. Today people in more and more countries reject exploitation and declare for socialism.

The opening chapters of this course outline the history of socialist thought and the prerequisites for scientific socialism. But the greater part is concerned with the major principles of scientific socialism (the chapters on the historic mission of the working class, the socialist revolution,

socialism, and communism). The experience gained in the construction of the new society has been reviewed as far as the limited size of the course permits. The chapter "The Doctrine of Socialism and Communism" contains a section setting forth the theory of scientific socialism on the laws governing the replacement of pre-capitalist by socialist relations of production.

There was a time when people believed in the Golden Age, for which, it was supposed, the world was created. The wish of a happy life in such a time had given way to a wish of rest and violence since men have been in the slave society, in which separation and oppression appeared for the first time, marking the beginning of the division of society into antagonistic classes.

People shocked by slavery violently pictured the capitalist life of early days, when the earth supplied us as they imagined, with all that we needed without his having to till it. This dream world was originated by a sense of hopelessness toward the future. It expressed a longing to go back, which is impossible since the trend of human history as a whole has always been upward and on, whether we are realizing this, people transferred their longing for a happy life from the world of reality into the realm of fancy. In the period of slavery legends were compiled about the happy ages which was impossible.

I. THE LEGEND OF THE GOLDEN AGE

There was a time when people believed tales about the Golden Age which was supposed to have passed for ever. The myth of a happy life on earth that had given way to a reign of evil and violence came into being in the slave society, in which oppressors and oppressed appeared for the first time marking the beginning of the division of society into antagonistic classes.

People shackled by slavery wistfully pictured the carefree life of early man, whom the earth supplied—or so they imagined—with all that he needed without his having to till it. This dream world was suggested by a sense of hopelessness typical of those times. It expressed a longing to go back, which is impossible since the trend of human history as a whole has always been upward and progressive. As if realising this, people transferred their longing for a happy life from the world of reality into the realm of fancy. In the period of antiquity legends were compiled about the happy region which was inaccessible,

except by a miracle, because no one knew the way.

The myth of paradise lost became part of the ideology under the slave system and later, under feudalism. It showed that the working people were downtrodden and helpless, it reflected their passive protest against unbearable living conditions.

The people of the early period from which the myth of the "Golden Age" dates, were dispirited by the difficulties of their struggle with nature; they were helpless against the fearsome phenomena of their strange and unaccountable natural surroundings.

The legend of lost paradise became invalid when people had acquired some more or less exact knowledge of the life of primitive man.

As early as two thousand years ago, materialist thinkers of Greece and Rome expressed some truly scientific notions, and made correct conjectures about social development. In the writings of Lucretius, a Roman poet and scholar of the first century B.C., we find the earliest of those conjectures about the history of society, the first, largely naïve formulation of the idea of society's progress from lower to higher forms of life. In putting forward their ideas of social development, the materialist thinkers of antiquity criticised the myth of the "Golden Age". They pointed out that mankind had already travelled a long way and had acquired a great deal of knowledge and much useful experience. But while rejecting the past as

an era of savagery and barbarity, they were unable to forecast the future of mankind, for their outlook was limited to the narrow bounds of relations based on slavery. They had no idea of the future trend of social development. All that Plato, the Greek idealist philosopher (427-347 B.C.), dreamed of was to improve social relations within the slave-owning class. He gave no thought to the plight of the vast majority of the population—slaves, artisans and cultivators.

It was centuries before progressive thinkers could say that the Golden Age was a thing of the future and not of the past, and that people had to fight for it instead of looking forward to a miracle and relying on supernatural forces.

Marx, Engels and Lenin had to combat the false theory that the working people in capitalist society are becoming increasingly poor because nature cannot keep pace with the growth of the population in supplying it with her fruits. The Malthusians (so named after Malthus [1766-1834], the English bourgeois economist, who advanced this theory) defended the interests of the bourgeoisie and attacked scientific socialism, which showed mankind the road to happiness. They repeated the old myth about the Golden Age, saying that mankind had parted with it for ever at the dawn of history.

The Golden Age had never existed, wrote Lenin at the beginning of this century. A happy life lay ahead—it would be a classless society free from exploitation, a society prepared for by the entire

history of mankind. The theory of scientific socialism was a result of working mankind's age-old struggle against the exploiters.

Today some ideologists again contend that the Golden Age is a thing of the past. They affirm that peoples freed from imperialist oppression must go back to the system prevailing in pre-colonial days, must move backwards and not forwards. They dress up the past, in particular the survivals of patriarchal practices in the social relations of those peoples. They claim that the backwardness of Asian and African countries with regard to socioeconomic conditions and production techniques is not a liability but an asset, which gives them an advantage over other countries.

Those who advance these views do so for different reasons. Some of them are protesting against colonialism, and expressing the desire to fight for their independence and uphold the distinctive character of their country. But they do not see the right way to durable independence and a better society. Others advance the theory of the Golden Age, supposed to have existed in the past, with the aim of disguising their reactionary aspirations, their tendency to compromise with the imperialists and the feudal lords, or of masking their chauvinism and racialism.

Whatever the subjective desire of the advocates of this theory, it is reactionary in its social significance and hampers society's advance to freedom, happiness and equality. It undermines the friendship and brotherhood of the peoples. All

attempts to return to the old are bound to fail, and can bring the people nothing but hardships and suffering that could have been avoided. Neither mankind as a whole nor any one section of it can or will renounce the material and spiritual achievements of civilisation. No nation can evade mankind's common advance to socialism. The peoples of Asia and Africa want first and foremost to ensure that the social, economic and cultural development of their countries proceeds as fast as possible, and that their age-old backwardness is overcome in the shortest possible time.

II. IDEOLOGICAL PREREQUISITES OF THE THEORY OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Early Utopian Socialists. In the decline of feudalism, works appeared in Europe denouncing the system of exploitation and oppression, and expressing the people's hope for a better life and a happy future. They depicted an imaginary island lost somewhere in the ocean, or far-away cities ruled by wise, just men. Many of those writings spoke of a longing for social justice and equal property rights. They advanced the idea of equalitarian communism—the peasants' notion of an equitable distribution of all riches as the ideal of social relations.

Thomas More, the English writer and philosopher (1478-1535), in his book *Utopia*, described ideal life on the unknown island Utopia (from the Greek *ou*, not, *topos*, a place, meaning "a place which does not exist"). He was the first to formulate precisely certain propositions that later became characteristic of a number of thinkers. The doctrine of More and his followers was called *Utopian Socialism*. Today we use the term "utopian" as a synonym for "unscientific", and

when speaking of Utopian Socialism we invariably mean unscientific socialism as against the scientific socialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Thomas More came to the conclusion that people cannot be equal and happy so long as the right of private property exists and public wealth falls into the hands of the few, while the mass of the people are doomed to poverty. There is no private property or money in his Utopia, production is managed collectively, and everyone lives by his own labour, which is the duty of every citizen. The islanders give all that they produce to public storehouses without any payment, and receive from there all that they need free of charge.

The next attempt to provide a pattern for the organisation of society without private property was made early in the seventeenth century by Tommaso Campanella, the Italian thinker (1568-1639), in his book *The City of the Sun*.

More and Campanella gave vivid descriptions of a better social system. But they were not certain it would really come. They did not see a better social organisation as a logical stage of human progress.

French philosophers of the 18th century. In the eighteenth century theoreticians of the rising bourgeoisie, who rejected the declining feudal system, put forward the idea of the regular progressive development of society. They did not think, however, that the bourgeois system would be supplanted by a better social system. Their theories had nothing to say about a system that would

abolish private property. They regarded the system based on private property as the most progressive.

Diderot (1718-1784), Holbach (1723-1789) and other French philosophers developed the bourgeois theory of progress. They said there was no limit to the development of mankind. Progress manifested itself in the achievements of science and education, and in the dying out of superstitions and prejudices, giving way to reason, which defeated ignorance. This was the basic idea of those philosophers. They stressed the tremendous value of science, of knowledge, which helped man to subdue nature. But these thinkers overlooked the most important thing. They did not realise that all social relations are based on the production of material wealth and on the relations which people establish between themselves in the course of production.

They held that in addition to spiritual improvement, progress fostered the development of political institutions, which they saw as the handiwork of man. In other words, they stripped the state of the medieval halo of divine origin. However, the advocates of the idea that scientific thought is a force conquering the world said little about the social organisation of society. They were concerned with tempering morals and improving political organisation, that is, in effect, replacing the rule of the landed proprietors by bourgeois rule, which they pictured in an idealised form.

Champions of universal equality. On the other hand, the eighteenth century saw daring minds

trying to look ahead, beyond bourgeois society, which brought dire calamities to the people as it grew stronger. Progressive thinkers advocated the idea of equal rights in property, and the establishment of a communist society, which they regarded as a system in harmony with human nature.

Morelly, a French writer (the dates of his birth and death are unknown), drafted laws for the future society, trying to take up the ideas of More and Campanella. His drafts spoke of a society which would abolish private property and guarantee the citizens' right to labour. Every citizen, Morelly wrote, would contribute to the welfare of society according to his energy, ability and age. This was the original formulation of the fundamental principle of socialism—that each should work according to his ability. Morelly favoured the idea of distribution according to need. The dream of a new system without oppressors and oppressed also found expression in the writings of the French thinkers Jean Meslier (1664-1729) and Gabriel Mably (1709-1785).

Morelly, Meslier and Mably were the theoretical forerunners of the communist movement which arose during the Great French Revolution, forerunners of the *Conspiration des Egaux* led by Gracchus Babeuf (1760-1797), who expressed the aspirations of the Paris poor. The "equal" saw the effects of the class rule of the bourgeoisie. They were disappointed with bourgeois democracy, and realised that the French Revolution had replaced one set of exploiters by another. The revolution

must be prolonged until it becomes a revolution of the people, Babeuf said. The "equal" longed for a revolutionary dictatorship that would reorganise society on communist lines. In their opinion, the victory of a revolution of the poor should result in the establishment of virtual equality by introducing social property. Everybody should work; there should be no rich or poor, and no one should be allowed to appropriate property.

Babeuf's idea of equality was, however, primitive. He and his followers often underestimated complex, highly skilled labour, education, art, and science. They were unaware of the great historical role of cultural progress, and of the need of providing conditions for the continuous development and improvement of the abilities and talents of the members of society, the necessity of creating an abundance of material benefits and steadily improving the living and cultural standards of the people. They did not understand the historical role of the proletariat, and pictured the society of the future as chiefly agrarian, for they did not appreciate the historic significance of industrial progress. The conspiratorial tactics they chose and the fact that their links with the mass of the people were weak doomed them to defeat and death. For all their bravery and devotion to the people, they were unable to do anything concrete to realise their plans.

That was how social thought in the eighteenth century was about to formulate certain important principles of socialism. It did not say when and

how the new social system would be established; a system based on social property, labour by each according to his ability, and distribution according to need. It did not yet regard this system as a logical result of the development of society, but merely dreamed of it.

The Sources of Marxism

Early in the last century prominent philosophers, political economists and socialists created the theoretical prerequisites for a new, truly scientific world outlook. But they, too, merely formulated the major social problems. Solutions to these problems could only be supplied on the basis of a scientific, materialist analysis of history. This was done by Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism.

In "The Three Sources and the Three Component Parts of Marxism", Lenin stressed that the teachings of Marx and Engels did not constitute an isolated doctrine conceived off the high road of world civilisation. He wrote that it was "the legitimate successor to the best that man produced in the nineteenth century, as represented by German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism".*

German philosophy in the first half of the nineteenth century. The most noted philosopher

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 19, pp. 23-24.

of this period was the German idealist philosopher Hegel (1770-1831). He created the dialectical doctrine of development as a continuous process of the rise of the new and the abolition of the old, a process of ascent from the lower to the higher. He maintained that, everywhere and in everything, contradictions are the driving force behind movement, and slow quantitative changes result in leaps which involve qualitative changes. He generalised and carried forward many ideas expressed by the foremost minds of the world, beginning with the Greek thinkers of two thousand and more years ago. These were the progressive elements of Hegelian philosophy.

On the other hand, Hegel considered thought, the spirit, to be the motive force and basis of the entire process of development. He advanced what were in effect revolutionary ideas, but far from drawing revolutionary conclusions from them, he defended conservatism. Contrary to the spirit of his own doctrine, he did not believe that knowledge and historical processes develop infinitely. On the contrary, he saw the "end" of the development of knowledge and of world history. He declared his philosophy to be the absolute truth, and said that the philosophical thought of mankind would stop developing when it had mastered that truth.

Hegel tried to apply the dialectical idea of development to history, which he represented as a ladder which led mankind to increasing spiritual perfection. But the outcome was that he believed

the development of society culminated in the reactionary Prussian monarchy, in whose service he was. He extolled that monarchy as the "crown" of historical development. Needless to say, socialist ideas were completely foreign to him.

Another German thinker who left a profound mark on the history of philosophical thought was Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872); he repudiated the idealism of his preceptor, Hegel, and advanced the best traditions of eighteenth-century materialism. But Feuerbach did not appreciate Hegel's dialectical method and was unable to apply materialist philosophy to history and human society.

Nevertheless, the philosophy of Hegel and Feuerbach contained certain ideological prerequisites for the creation of a revolutionary philosophy. Although they were no more than prerequisites, they were evaluated, reset in a creative mould and brilliantly developed by Marx, Engels and Lenin, the great leaders of the working class.

English classical political economy. The makings of a revolutionary theory were also contained in the writings of some English scholars, who studied the material conditions of man's life, even though these scholars were anything but socialists, and were bourgeois in outlook and social standing. Still their achievements in the study of a special field of man's social activities—production and the sphere of commodity exchange—led to the creation of the science of political economy.

Subsequently the development of political economy led to the discovery of the class and social

structure of society, and to the establishment of certain stages of the economic development of mankind.

The classical school of bourgeois political economy, whose most notable exponent was Adam Smith (1723-1790), developed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The adherents of this school expressed correct ideas. They declared that labour is the source of all social wealth, and elaborated the theory of value, according to which value is determined by the amount of labour in terms of time. They were right in stating that the exchange of commodities is, in the final analysis, an exchange of labour activities. Smith regarded capitalist profit as the product of the unpaid labour of wage workers.

But neither Smith, nor his compatriot David Ricardo (1772-1823), or other followers of the classical school of bourgeois political economy, revealed the true nature of capitalist relations, particularly the profound contradictions of capitalism. They failed to analyse to the full the relations that form between people in a society ruled by capital. Smith divided capitalist society into three groups: workers, capitalists and landowners, with wages, profit and rent as their respective forms of income. But he never rose to an analysis of class relations and the class struggle.

The limitations of bourgeois thought. It never occurred to the English school of political economy that the capitalist system should be abolished. This system, on the contrary, seemed to them to

be the system most in keeping with human nature. Nevertheless, this school took the first steps toward a scientific analysis of capitalism, thereby paving the way for its criticism.

The foremost French historians of the nineteenth century—Guizot, Thierry and Mignet—acknowledged the existence of the class struggle in the history of society. This was an appreciable advance compared with the view which the eighteenth-century representatives of the Enlightenment and Hegel had taken of history. The great battles of the French Revolution were not lost on bourgeois thinkers, for they began to speak of the class struggle. They held, however, that this struggle ended with the establishment of a bourgeois order. Guizot, Thierry and Mignet regarded the exploiting capitalist system as natural, and hence everlasting.

We have seen that Hegel, who advocated the theory of development, poisoned his own theory with idealism and metaphysics, by alleging that the development of the state ended when the Prussian absolute monarchy was established.

Progressive bourgeois thinkers invariably ran into an impasse, for they saw nothing, and refused to see anything, but the exploiting system of society. The bourgeoisie strove to represent the capitalist system with its oppression, its class antitheses, and its struggle between nations, as something everlasting, something corresponding to the "requirements of eternal reason", "nature", and the dictum of the "absolute spirit".

By the mid-nineteenth century, the West European and North American bourgeoisie, having achieved power, had begun to renounce the idea of social progress. The growth of the proletariat, and its emergence on the political scene caused the bourgeoisie to worry about the permanence of its social rule, and "progress lost its charm in their eyes", as Paul Lafargue, a prominent socialist, put it.

The great Utopian Socialists. Capitalism came to Europe and North America in anything but the festive attire in which bourgeois philosophers, economists and historians draped it. It doomed the working people to dire poverty, forcing them to do impossible work in slave-factories. It was not long before strikes began—the proletariat's first historical battles against the rule of the "bag of gold".

Progressive thinkers saw that mere talk about spiritual progress, the advance of science, and the ultimate triumph of education would not do. Nor could one be satisfied with theories of social progress extolling the replacement of the feudal order by a new one establishing the power of the bourgeoisie. As social relations and class struggles developed, the problem of social progress became more and more pressing.

Was mankind to be for ever divided into rich and poor, into oppressors and oppressed? Was it true that the idea of the utopian thinkers of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries about the equality of people and the rule of social

property was so much wishful thinking? Was the social organisation of bourgeois society the limit at which social progress must stop?

Attempts to answer these questions were made by the great Utopian Socialists of the early nineteenth century—the Frenchman Henri Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier and the Englishman Robert Owen. They affirmed that mankind was advancing to a new society whose main virtue would be labour, and not self-interest and profit. The exploitation of man by man would be succeeded by the co-operation of all with the aim of bringing natural forces under man's control and social justice would at last be established. Progress was everlasting; it would stop rising and falling like the tides, and social organisation would serve mankind's never-ending and unbounded progress.

That is how the theory of progress ceased to be merely a theory of spiritual or political development, but became a theory of social progress. Ever since then, genuine knowledge of human society has been inseparable from the great ideas of socialism. From then on there could be no theory of progress which ignored the issue of the future organisation of society.

At the beginning of the last century, however, the conditions for developing a scientific theory of the revolutionary struggle of the working class were still inadequate. Capitalist production was underdeveloped and class relations in bourgeois society had not yet reached sufficient maturity. The great Utopian Socialists of the early nineteenth

century could not, as a result, know the way to the future, and as far as they were concerned, socialism remained a dream, a utopia. Nevertheless, they declared in no uncertain terms that mankind had to advance to a new social system.

"The Golden Age, which tradition has so far blindly looked on as a thing of the past, lies ahead." This is how Saint-Simon (1760-1825), begins *Literary, Philosophical and Industrial Discourses*, one of his major works. Mankind's real Golden Age would begin with an organisation of society beneficial to the vast majority, and at the same time particularly favourable to the development of all of man's abilities. The needs of the majority could not be met, nor its abilities fostered, in a society dominated by self-interest.

The best social organisation was one that would make the life of the working people, that is, the majority of society, as happy as possible.

Saint-Simon created a theory of human progress that was remarkable for his day. But the picture of the future social system he painted was rather blurred. Everybody in it would work, and the function of controlling the people would become one of controlling all jobs. The fundamental task of society was to meet the needs of every member as fully as possible. Secular power was to be in the hands of a "council of industrialists", and spiritual power was to be wielded by the Academy of Sciences.

While calling for an end to the reign of parasitism and proclaiming the beginning of a new era,

in which labour was to reign supreme, neither Saint-Simon nor his disciples knew how to bring this about. They knew of no realistic ways of accomplishing their ideals. Neither did they appreciate the significance of the class struggle, the greatest driving force of history. This is why their idea of the future organisation of society is so vague. They said, for example, that production was to be managed by the industrialists. But they classed capitalists and workers alike as "industrialists".

Although the doctrine of Saint-Simon and his followers was inconsistent, their idea of the possibility of a social order, in which everyone would work according to his ability and be paid according to his work, is very significant. This principle has become part of the programme for socialism. Just as significant is Saint-Simon's idea that, when it has got rid of exploitation, society will acquire tremendous creative force and its watchword will be to promote science and technology, and to make the mighty forces of nature the servants of man.

Another great French Utopian Socialist Charles Fourier (1772-1837) wrote a series of works on the reorganisation of society on the basis of social justice. In them, brilliant progressive ideas often alternate with naïve or even absurd views.

Fourier gave a most forceful criticism of the organisation of the capitalist society of his day. In capitalist production, labour was forced, and the workers had no interest in its results. Labour was

a curse and the cause of suffering, whereas it should bring joy and happiness.

Fourier made a number of remarkable conjectures about the economic laws of capitalism and their social consequences. The implements of labour and capital became more and more centralised, the whole of society was ruled by a handful of capitalists. Bourgeois competition bred monopolies, and a handful of selfish individuals increased their power over society, with the result that society was threatened with the establishment of commercial feudalism, a feudalism that would be worse than the feudalism of the past. At the same time, small peasants working on their scattered farms could not benefit by the achievements of technology and the blessings of labour co-operatives. Social progress had become an illusion. The wealthy class was forging ahead, while the poor marked time. Wealth was growing but poverty was not diminishing. Profiteers and swindlers were becoming masters of the masters, swaying the fortunes of whole empires.

The gulf between rich and poor was widening. They were in a state of war. Public interests and private interests were in conflict. The prevailing social organisation signified war by each against all and by all against each. The individual was in a state of continuous struggle against society, and the happiness of some was based on the unhappiness or even death of others.

Fourier pierced the smokescreen of lies with which the defenders of capitalism tried to disguise

the real essence of bourgeois democracy. There are many rights on paper, he exclaimed, and the Constitution even speaks of the people's sovereignty. But it was hard to imagine a sovereign who, despite the existence of an ample supply of products in the country, did not even have ordinary bread and whom the bourgeois rulers, described by the Constitution as the people's "stewards", refused to guarantee so much as the right to labour and a subsistence minimum.

As he pondered on the evils of capitalism, Fourier came to the conclusion that a new social system was needed, such as would do away with the crying contradictions of the bourgeois way of life and establish social harmony. In developing the theory of the future society, he put forward many amazing ideas which may perhaps become more real later on, but he combined them into a single whole by means of the most fantastic suppositions and inventions.

It was extremely significant that Fourier called for the transformation of labour, which the ideologists of the exploiting system described as the curse of mankind, into a source of enjoyment. True, the principle of this transformation as suggested by him was wrong, because he said labour in the future society would become an amusement. In reality labour will become—and in the socialist countries it is gradually becoming—a prime requirement of man. It will never become an idle pastime like golf, which present-day aristocrats and businessmen are so fond of.

Fourier tried to think of ways and means of abolishing the capitalist division of labour, which cripples man's individuality, and of eliminating the antithesis between town and country.

We owe Fourier a good deal of credit for all this. But his projects for an ideal social organisation bear the stamp of utopianism, and are often based on a completely mistaken idea. He wrote, for example, that the harmony which society was to attain would be based on the satisfaction of human passions. He attached great importance to these passions, and devised a most intricate classification of them.

Fourier's notion of the future organisation of society was most ingenuous. Society was to be grouped according to the likes and dislikes of its members, and divided into associations of individuals—phalanxes—of from 1,600 to 2,000 people. (He considered that there were 810 human characters and that each phalanx should have two exponents of each character, and so 1,620 should be the best number for the phalanx. One comes across this kind of arithmetical calculations on almost every page of his writings about the future society. His disciples went even further by "calculating" that in 80,000 years there would be 37 million poets, and 37 mathematicians as good as Newton.) Each phalanx would live in a "phalanstery", or huge building comprising not only living quarters but workshops, dining-rooms, libraries, and so on. Agriculture was to be the phalansterians' main occupation. As for industrial

activity, it was to account for only one-quarter of their total labour effort.

The phalanxes were to enter into brisk trade with one another, but there was to be no strong permanent link between them. Society, split into phalanxes, was to have no specific organisation. Fourier pictured the transition to the new system as follows: the future society would begin with the organisation of separate nuclei scattered all over the world, these nuclei would be like islands in the midst of a world which continued to live as before.

On the other hand, Fourier was right when he said, that work in the phalansteries would have to be so organised as to bring satisfaction to people. It should not doom people to one and the same activity, but should enable them to choose the activity that best suited their inclinations and abilities. The old division of labour was to be abolished in the phalansteries. Each member of the phalanx was to have the opportunity to change jobs. There was to be competition between groups of working people. Labour was to become a creative effort in which people engaged with enthusiasm. Personal interests would merge with those of society.

Since Fourier did not realise that socialism could only be achieved through the class struggle, he pinned all his hopes on the generosity of the rich. He thought the capitalists would join the phalanxes, and would contribute their money for the purchase of land and equipment. They were

to be paid a high rate of interest on the contribution they made and to enjoy special facilities (eating and diverting themselves more often than anyone else, doing no hard physical work, fishing and hunting, and so on). Fourier did not realise that the inequality that was to be preserved in the phalanstery, would inevitably breed antagonism and a struggle between its members.

Nevertheless, it was the French Utopian Socialists, and Saint-Simon and Fourier, above all, who outlined a new theory of social development, one that heralded a new stage in the history of social thought.

Utopian Socialism also influenced progress in English social thought.

Robert Owen, the English Utopian Socialist (1771-1858), played an important role in educating the English working class in the first half of the last century. He sharply criticised the bourgeois system. He considered that with the spread of education "...the whole of the existing system and organisation of society would appear so monstrous, contradictory, and absurd, that none, after a short period, could be otherwise than greatly ashamed to remain an advocate for the continuance of such an heterogeneous mass of sin and misery, of gross irrationality and obstruction to human happiness."

Owen took up arms against private property, which he saw as the cornerstone of the social injustice prevailing in society.

"Private property," he wrote, "has been, and is at this day, the cause of endless crime and misery to man." He goes on to say, "Private property alienates mind from mind, is a perpetual cause of repulsive action throughout society, a never-failing source of deception and fraud between man and man, and a strong stimulus to prostitution among women. It has caused war through all the past ages of the world's known history, and been a stimulant to innumerable private murders."

Consequently, the main task was to abolish private property. Mankind would be truly relieved when everything—with the exception of personal belongings—became the property of society, for then everyone would have enough of everything. In other words, mankind will achieve true happiness when it has built communism.

But Owen did not know how to go about a radical transformation of the social system. He was ingenuous enough to imagine that this could be brought about by means of reforms, and repeatedly put his proposals for reform before the governments and rulers of his day: the British Parliament, the governments of Europe and America, the Holy Alliance (the reactionary bloc of European rulers), Queen Victoria of England and Nicholas I of Russia.

Like the French Utopian Socialists, Owen did not see the significance of the proletariat's class struggle. He was far from understanding the role of the political struggle and the political organisation of the working class. However, he made a

substantial contribution to the economic struggle of the British workers. At his New Lanark factory, he did his best to improve working conditions and cut working hours. He did much to raise wages, opened a model school, a nursery and kindergarten, and set up a sick fund. He launched a broad public campaign for legislative restrictions on the working day of children and teen-agers.

The Place of Utopian Socialism in History

The great Utopian Socialists exposed with tremendous force the oppression of the people by capitalist regimes, and tried to put forward a new, ideal system opposed to the contemporary system. They believed this would be enough to assure success. They thought it very important to describe future life in detail, so as to fire the people's imagination. However, while criticising the old society, they found no material conditions in that society for its transformation.

They were unable to explain the nature and trend of capitalism, which they criticised, and so could not cope with the problem. They merely insisted that capitalism was good for nothing. They did not see in the working class an organised and politically-conscious factor for social progress. Marx wrote in *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847) that the Utopian Socialists "see in poverty noth-

ing but poverty, without seeing in it the revolutionary, subversive side, which will overthrow the old society".* To them the proletariat was merely the most destitute and suffering class. This is why their teachings, which had no bearing on the labour movement, remained altogether outside reality, and were merely well-intentioned without having any effect on reality. "In politics," Lenin wrote, "utopia is a wish that can never come true—neither now nor afterwards—a wish that is not based on social forces and is not supported by the growth and development of political, class forces."**

Hence the futility of the forms of practical activity chosen by the Utopian Socialists. While some of them went no further than making unrealistic plans for the reorganisation of society, others pleaded with the capitalists and their hangers-on to improve the condition of the workers. They spread abroad their faith in the idea that it was possible to make society and individual rich men change their views and even to re-educate the exploiting classes and their state. Still others wasted their energy and enthusiasm on attempts to organise "socialist" colonies foredoomed to failure. Owen dreamed of transforming capitalism into socialism, only by setting up a vast network of co-operatives. He completely disregarded such fundamental issues as the class struggle, the

* Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Moscow, p. 141.

** V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 18, p. 355.

seizure of political power by the working class, and the overthrow of the exploiters' rule.

For all that, great credit is due to the Utopian Socialists. Engels wrote that the doctrine created by Marx and himself (that is, scientific socialism) "rests on the shoulders of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen—three men who, in spite of all their fantastic notions and all their utopianism, have their place among the most eminent thinkers of all times, and whose genius anticipated innumerable things the correctness of which is now being scientifically proved by us..."*

Marx, Engels and Lenin spoke highly of the great Utopian Socialists' conclusions on future society—the abolition of the antithesis between town and country and of wage labour, the transformation of the state into mere industrial management, and the transformation of labour into a creative occupation and a natural necessity for everyone, etc.

Marx and Engels showed that as the proletariat's class struggle developed, the fantastic strivings to rise above the class struggle lost all its practical value and theoretical justification.**

By the mid-nineteenth century Utopian Socialism had to give way to scientific socialism. The Utopian Socialists, who had nothing to do with

* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Moscow, 1962, Vol. I, p. 652.

** *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

the people waging revolutionary struggles, had begun to hamper social progress rather than promote it. The labour movement was growing, and the working people's resentment over capitalist exploitation was increasing. Nevertheless, the latter-day imitators of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen continued to shun the proletariat. They became increasingly persistent in spreading the illusion that socialism could be achieved, not by a determined class struggle, but through a general reconciliation of the classes, and that one should rely on the kindness of the rich, who would in the end sacrifice their wealth to see the establishment of a new social system. They obstructed the formation of independent political parties of the working class. The greatest force which really could transform society—the proletariat—carried on its fight at the beginning of the last century, having no strong organisation or clear-cut programme, and unaware of its potentialities and ultimate goal. It was necessary to end the isolation of socialist ideas from the people and from their everyday struggle against the exploiters. Socialism did not become a great historical force until it fused with the revolutionary movement of the working class. But for this to come about, it was indispensable first to radically revise the socialist ideas themselves and rid them of utopianism.

That task was accomplished by the scientific socialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Petty-Bourgeois Socialism

Scientific socialism had from the outset to wage a stubborn fight against the imitators of Utopian Socialism and the advocates of new pseudo-socialist doctrines. They all expressed the sentiments of the petty bourgeoisie, that is, of the small and middle peasants, artisans, handicraftsmen and small traders. These sections of society hold an intermediate position between the two principal classes of bourgeois society—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The petty bourgeoisie is dual in character, for every member of it is both a proprietor, if only a small one, a private owner of the means of production, and a working man. Under capitalism, the small-scale economy inevitably disintegrates and is supplanted by large-scale capitalist production. The small proprietor's protest against the onslaught of big capital gives rise to petty-bourgeois forms of socialism. Among the more prominent advocates of these forms in the days of Marx and Engels were the Frenchman Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865), and the Russian Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876), who tried to counter scientific socialism with their narrow petty-bourgeois theories.

Many petty-bourgeois socialists, like the Utopian Socialists of the early nineteenth century, severely criticised the contradictions of capitalist society, the disastrous effects of machine industry and growing commerce on the peasants and

artisans, on the small proprietors, who were ruined and reduced to poverty. They exposed the cruelty of the capitalist order, and revealed the decline of the old morality, of the family, and the ruthless break-up of the old way of life. Proudhon described many of the harmful effects of the domination of big property, and exposed the tyrannical nature of all forms of the exploiting state-monarchic, aristocratic, and bourgeois-democratic.

For all that, petty-bourgeois socialists were swayed by the ideology of capitalist society, beyond which they never ventured. They did not attempt to demand the abolition of commodity production and private ownership of the means of production, on which capitalism is based. They wanted to perpetuate small-scale private property, and as for big capitalist property, they criticised it precisely from a petty-bourgeois standpoint. What they wanted was, in effect, not to abolish capitalism, but to rid it of abuses, distortions, crises and other "defects". Theirs was a fantastic programme for a "just" capitalism. Other plans for the future society proposed by petty-bourgeois socialists likewise painted an idealised picture of capitalism, concealing its seamy sides.

Proudhonism, Bakuninism and other varieties of petty-bourgeois socialism shut their eyes to numerous realities determining social development. They misinterpreted class antagonisms, and often ignored them. From a theoretical standpoint, petty-bourgeois socialism generally fails to understand the materialist basis of historical

development and to appreciate the role and significance of each class of capitalist society. It poses as a theory expressing the interests of the "whole people" and upholding "universal justice" and "equal rights for all", that is, for the proletariat, which has no property, the small proprietors, and the big proprietors alike. Its advocates deluded themselves and, as Marx phrased it in *The Class Struggle in France* (1850), they were certain that a world transformed according to the needs of the petty bourgeoisie would be the best world, for it would meet all revolutionary demands and eliminate all revolutionary conflicts.*

Petty-bourgeois socialists disliked realistic ways of social change and therefore looked for "other" ways, imagining that an arbitrary approach, an "exertion of the will", could stop the course of history, and reverse social relations by making society miss out essential stages of development. Many petty-bourgeois socialists of the last century, particularly in those countries where capitalism had only just begun to develop, cherished the idea of stopping the growth of industry and the proletariat. They did not realise that a tremendous growth of the productive forces was absolutely indispensable if a new society free from exploitation was to emerge; otherwise "want is merely made general, and with *destitution* the struggle for necessities, and all the old filthy

* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*; Two-Vol. ed., Moscow, 1962, Vol. I, p. 221.

business would necessarily be reproduced", as Marx and Engels stressed.*

Narodnik socialism, typical of underdeveloped, agrarian countries at a low level of development of capitalist economy, is another variety of petty-bourgeois, utopian socialism.

The difference between Narodnik socialism and the socialist theories of West European petty-bourgeois Utopians was due to the social and economic conditions in which they developed.

Petty-bourgeois utopian socialism in the capitalist countries of the West looked back, for it wanted to restore the past. Its spokesmen looked for models in the practices and traditions of the past; they would have liked to revert from large-scale capitalist production to a guild organisation of industry, and a patriarchal agriculture. This kind of socialism was of course reactionary, because it tried to find a way out for the petty bourgeoisie, in particular the peasants, who were in a difficult position, by turning the wheel of history back in those countries where capitalism had made considerable progress.

In the agrarian countries, on the other hand, the peasants suffer more from the survivals of feudalism than from capitalism, or, to use Lenin's expression, not so much from capitalism as from its inadequate development. Petty-bourgeois utopian socialism—it may also be called peasant

* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, 1964, Vol. 1, p. 46.

socialism—which comes into being as an expression of the peasants' discontent, is somewhat different in character and has a different trend.

While in the industrial countries of the West it was reactionary, in the agrarian countries it includes progressive elements, for it insists on the abolition of the survivals of medievalism, on the peasant's liberation from the shackles of feudalism, and consequently on more rapid economic progress. In this respect, it looks forward and not backward, and this is the distinguishing feature of Narodnik, or peasant, socialism in agrarian countries with considerable survivals of feudal exploitation. Despite its progressive characteristics, however, peasant socialism remained petty-bourgeois and utopian.

The supporters and ideologists of peasant socialism imagined that all men could be made "equal", "free" and "independent" proprietors by introducing universal equalitarian land tenure under which there would be no rich or poor. They called this type of tenure a "socialist system". They did not realise that the equality of landed property could not in itself do away with poverty and want, inequality and exploitation, so long as the commodity economy and the rule of money and capital persisted. Indeed, they did not realise that "equalitarian" small-scale farming, which they suggested, was altogether impossible, just as it was impossible to preserve the small-scale economy under capitalism. For it is undermined by trade and competition, which lead to the concentra-

tion of property, the ruin of small land-holders who are swallowed up by stronger ones, and the inevitable differentiation of the small proprietors, the peasants, into bourgeoisie and proletariat. Equalitarian land tenure is, in fact, merely a condition for the complete abolition of the survivals of feudalism and for the unhampered development of capitalism, and not for the establishment of socialism.

The theoreticians of "peasant socialism" had no real, scientific idea of social development. They did not see the general laws of mankind's development and therefore regarded the inadequate development of capitalist relations in this or that country as a special form, a special advantage, and consequently the possibility of a special way of development for socialism. The fact that economic backwardness and poverty cannot be abolished in such countries without an agrarian revolution or a radical agrarian reform, which became imperative in the struggle for the complete abolition of feudal practices, brought peasant socialists to the conclusion that it was the peasants who upheld socialist ideas and were the motive power of revolution. For this reason they usually contrasted the peasants with the working class.

They said that, whereas in the developed capitalist countries of Europe it was the worker to whom the future belonged, in other countries it was the peasant. They saw that capitalism brought suffering and hardships to the people, and they therefore talked of avoiding a capitalist develop-

ment and advancing straight to socialism. Is this possible? Yes, it is. Marx, Engels and Lenin wrote that with the help of the victorious proletariat of more advanced countries, countries lagging behind could by-pass all the phases of capitalist development.

The theoreticians of peasant socialism, however, suggested a different solution. They argued that the capitalist path of development could be by-passed because the peasants in these countries were more revolutionary and socialist-minded than the working class in the West. And while in Europe revolution started in the towns, here it would start in the villages.

This claim that the peasant is closer to socialism than the worker, and that socialism should therefore be constructed from those elements which had already taken shape in the peasant's psychology, accounted for the peculiar tactics of the ideologists of peasant socialism. Typical of this socialism, as of many other trends of petty-bourgeois socialism, was petty-bourgeois revolutionism. Some, such as the Blanquists, or followers of the French revolutionary Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881), who advocated conspiratorial tactics, had a disciplined revolutionary organisation. Others, such as the anarchists led by Bakunin, completely rejected all authority, including revolutionary authority, and all centralisation and subordination, that is, they advocated complete disorganisation. But neither group realised that the working people *themselves* had to wage a

grim, determined struggle, and that the *masses* had to be consciously prepared to storm the old system, if the working people were to be emancipated.

The anarchists claimed that the people are always willing to revolt, to accomplish a social revolution and establish socialism, that they had "revolutionary and socialist instinct" and so there was no need to organise them or to explain their work patiently to them. It was sufficient to start one revolt after another, for, they said, "revolutionary exercise" was good for the people. The Blanquists and other advocates of conspiratorial tactics imagined they could all by themselves, without the aid of the working people, and using only "an enterprising and heroic minority", turn the old society upside down. They also rejected all intermediate stages, all preparatory propaganda and organisation, all class alliances and compromises. They fancied that, if fortune were on their side, they could by a fluke carry the day at any moment and establish a communist society without further ado. They advanced no arguments in support of this revolutionary plan, apart from the impatience and rashness typical of all petty-bourgeois revolutionaries.

It should be noted that, unlike many West European Utopian Socialists, who relied on the aid of a narrow group of conspirators, and so on, to carry out their plans, the Russian Utopian Socialist and revolutionary democrat, N. G. Chernyshevsky (1828-1889), and his fellow-thinkers looked to

the working people, to a peasant revolution. As Russia was economically underdeveloped, they were unable to reveal the decisive role of the working class in abolishing the exploiting system and building a socialist society. They were unfamiliar with the ideas of scientific socialism put forward by Marx and Engels.

A characteristic feature of petty-bourgeois revolutionism generally is that it ignores concrete, historical conditions; it tries to jump directly to the higher forms of social organisation, to communism, by-passing essential stages of revolutionary development. It exaggerates the role of the subjective moment, and has a weakness for arch-revolutionary talk.

The proletariat's revolutionary struggle often attracts petty-bourgeois revolutionaries by its strength, its organisation, and the precision and vividness of its watchwords. They may join the proletarian movement for a while, but the spirit of scientific socialism remains foreign to them. All they borrow from this theory is a few slogans. They lack restraint and discipline, and so cannot understand that they must work among the people with patience and perseverance if they want to succeed. Incapability and reluctance for this kind of work drive them to terrorism, to "revolutionary exercise", the artificial urging of revolutionary events—over the head of the people and contrary to objective development—to the exaggeration of the significance of one form of struggle only—the

violent, armed form, which they consider the only form suitable at all times and anywhere.

The contradictory social character of the petty bourgeoisie also conditioned the contradictory nature of its political methods and forms of activity, the struggle and organisation, which various groups of petty-bourgeois socialists used to try to achieve their aims. Some of these groups overrated the importance of politics and were carried away by conspiratorial tactics. Others, on the contrary, scorned politics or narrowed their scope to adaptation and reformism.

Be that as it may, petty-bourgeois politicians usually claimed an independent role for themselves, and independence for their movement and their class, in a society of bitter class struggles between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Since, however, the small proprietors objectively occupied an intermediate position between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, this so-called independent role was at best reduced to attempts to find a middle course between the two main classes of capitalist society. These were useless attempts. Petty-bourgeois politicians, resisting the revolutionary proletariat's leadership, often ended by compromising with the bourgeoisie and hence by submitting to it and bolstering its rule over the petty bourgeoisie.

Some ideologists of petty-bourgeois socialism deliberately deceived the workers and peasants, and in the case of a number of petty-bourgeois or even bourgeois parties, socialist phrase-mongering

came to be mere camouflage, a means of dodging the issue of who was really fighting for socialism and of which forces were leading the revolutionary movement.

Petty-bourgeois peasant socialists have always had to decide which of the two camps—bourgeois or proletarian—they should join. Many of them chose an alliance with the working class, the road of Marxist-Leninist socialism, which alone guarantees the observance of the peasant democrats' interests. They realised even then that the road to socialism was wide open to them, that their alliance with proletarian, Marxist-Leninist parties by no means implied absorption of the peasant democrats' interests, and that in historical reality the roads of peasant democracy and proletarian socialism run together.

In the present epoch, the fight between world socialism and world capitalism has become the main content of the historical process, the pivot of the class struggle on a world scale. In the once backward, colonial and semi-colonial countries, the mass of the people are disappointed with capitalism and reject it. The example of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries convinces them of the advantages of the socialist system. The best among the revolutionary democrats give up petty-bourgeois, peasant socialism for a genuinely socialist ideology, for scientific socialism. They seek and find ways, methods and forms of transition to a non-capitalist path of development. The socialist countries help them in this. In the Soviet Union,

the peasants of the backward non-Russian areas, such as Central Asia, have passed from feudalism, straight to socialism—by-passing capitalism—with the aid of brotherly peoples and in accordance with Lenin's plan for the construction of socialist society. This was a convincing example by the U.S.S.R. of how to by-pass the painful stage of capitalist development, and it shows that the peasant democrats can and should, in alliance with the working class, bring about the victory of socialism and build a socialist society.

III. SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM ON THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS

Never in the history of class societies have the working and oppressed people reconciled themselves to exploitation. Slaves have revolted against their masters, and serf-peasants have fought the feudal lords. But it was the proletariat that launched the final and decisive battle to do away with exploitation on earth.

Capitalism developed productive forces. The machine age appeared, with steam and electricity; a working class arose and conditions were created for its growing organisation and political consciousness. The elimination of exploiters from the life of human society became a feasible task. But to accomplish this task, it was necessary to ensure that the dream of a better life on earth became a scientific theory which generalised the revolutionary experience of the people and which showed the way to fight for a new society; and that the working class, inspired by this theory, achieved political and ideological unity, and became organised to fight and win.

The "Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels. Marx and Engels, by transforming social-

ism from a utopia into a science, showed realistic ways of achieving socialism. Their doctrine is therefore called scientific socialism.

They began their scientific and revolutionary activities in Germany in the forties of the last century. By then, a new class, the industrial proletariat, had developed, together with capitalism, in Britain, France, Germany and some other European countries.

The *Communist Manifesto*, written by Marx and Engels on the instructions of the League of Communists, a workers' organisation, was first published in February 1848. It set out the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat, the theory of scientific socialism. It proved that the society based on capitalist exploitation is bound to give way to a society without exploitation, without oppressors and oppressed. Unlike the contradictory, narrow, fantastic ideal of the Utopians, it presented a harmonious theory of social development, a theory based on scientific analysis. From then on the great ideals of socialism were put on an unshakable scientific foundation.

In the *Communist Manifesto* and other works, Marx and Engels proved that the struggle of the working people, the creators of all material wealth, against the exploiters, is the motive force of history, of the development of all class societies, from the slave system to capitalism. They made a particularly careful study of the capitalist system, and revealed the antagonisms which make the downfall of capitalism inevitable. They pointed

out that the proletariat was the social force which would accomplish the historical task of abolishing capitalism and building socialism.

The *Communist Manifesto* closes with an appeal to the workers of the world to unite for the struggle against capitalism. It reads:

"Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working Men of All Countries, Unite!"*

The historic mission of the working class. The most important point in the teachings of Marx and Engels is the elucidation of the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society.

Capitalism creates its own gravedigger, the proletariat. The development of capitalist society and the growth of large-scale industry also mean a growing working class, which will deliver all working people, the whole of mankind, from capitalist oppression. Capitalist society provides material and other conditions which not only enable the workers to eliminate oppression but which force them to do so.

Why did Marx and Engels come to the conclusion that the great mission of emancipating mankind would be fulfilled by the working class?

First, because the workers are the most exploited class of capitalist society. As a result of the very condition of its day-to-day existence, the working

* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Moscow, 1962, Vol. I, p. 65.

class becomes an irreconcilable enemy of capitalist exploitation and has a vital interest in abolishing the bourgeois system, under which the very product of the workers' labour turns against them and becomes an instrument of their own oppression. The working class is more interested than anyone else in abolishing private ownership of the means of production, because its exploitation is based on private property. The workers own nothing in capitalist society but their labour power, their ability to work. They can lose nothing through revolution. On the other hand, a revolution can bring them everything—social ownership of the means of production, political power, the opportunity to improve steadily their standard of living and to possess all the riches which culture has to offer them.

Secondly, by virtue of their position in production, the workers are linked not with the past of production but with its future, and consequently with the future of society as a whole.

Under capitalism large-scale industry develops, which, however, does not weaken the working class but leads to its further growth and increases its role in the life of society. The working class is the inevitable result of capitalist society.

The fundamental class interests and aspirations of the workers coincide with the trend of social progress and of the development of the productive forces. Private ownership of the means of production fetters the growth of the productive forces. It has to be abolished if the productive forces are

to develop unhampered, and this is the major concern of the proletariat.

The working class creates the mighty productive forces of modern society. We owe it to the sustained effort of the proletariat that material conditions have been provided for "ennobling labour itself", and for "multiplying its fruits to such a degree as to make general abundance possible", to quote Marx.* The creation of the inexhaustible productive forces of modern industry satisfied the first condition for the emancipation of labour. Their development on a vast scale removes all grounds for dividing people into rulers and ruled, exploiters and exploited. The capitalist class has already accomplished its historical role; it has become an obstacle to the further development of production, of society, of mankind. It prevents the establishment of genuine equality and general abundance. The proletariat must now satisfy the second condition for emancipating labour, that is, they must abolish private and monopoly ownership of the means producing social wealth, put them under the producers' collective control, and enable every member of society to participate, not only in the production but in the distribution and management of social wealth. It must place the whole of production on a planned basis and develop social production to an extent which ensures that everyone's reasonable needs are met in increasing measure.

* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On Britain*, p. 417.

Thirdly, the working class is capitalist society's only class having qualities which enable it to tackle the historical task of abolishing the exploiting system. The working class has the advantage of the mass, of one of the most numerous classes of capitalist society, one, moreover, that is growing fast, as we have said earlier. Nor is that all. The very conditions of production and the workers' life make them capable of a higher standard of organisation. In setting up large-scale industry, the bourgeoisie had to assemble the workers in big cities, where it massed them in huge plants. The workers work together, as big teams. They therefore become aware, sooner than any other social class or group, of the need of union and organisation. They shed the mentality of isolation and selfishness, of weakness and resignation. They realise more and more that whereas they are weak individually, they form an invincible force when together. Developing means of communication and roads linking various cities and localities also strengthen the links between the workers. The workers discover that their working and living conditions are equally bad everywhere, and that everywhere they are up against one and the same exploiting class. The workers become increasingly aware that they have common interests and aims. In other words, they become more and more class-conscious. Furthermore, the position which the working class holds in production and in the life of society as a whole makes it the most militant and powerful of the oppressed classes.

Scientific socialism is the greatest achievement of human thought, the result of the development of the most progressive philosophical, historical and economic theories. The exploited proletariat, which in capitalist society daily wages a hard struggle for existence and is barred from education and science, cannot develop a scientific socialist ideology all by itself. This ideology is created by intellectuals, who introduce it into the working class from outside. However, the working class has no difficulty in making socialist theory its own. Its living conditions help it realise its class interests and its special position in society. They also make it more capable than any other class of acquiring an advanced revolutionary world outlook, of forging its political consciousness on the experience of its labour and its struggles. The workers are more objective, and less shackled by obsolete principles and preconceived notions, than the members of other sections of society. Their very life rids them of many illusions. By protesting against the oppression he is subjected to, the worker destroys bourgeois hypocrisy, which serves to mask capitalist society. This protest brings out his noblest and most humane characteristics.

The working class is not alone in the struggle to carry out its historic mission, that is, the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by socialism. It is not the only class that is interested in eliminating exploitation and oppression. In bourgeois society, there are other classes and sections of the working people that suffer from the exploiters'

arbitrary rule, classes and sections whose vital interests coincide with those of the working class. These are the working peasants, the artisans, small traders, professional workers, including engineers, technologists, teachers, doctors, and artists, and office employees. These sections of society cannot free themselves from oppression by their own effort. But they can be allies and assistants of the proletariat in its great struggle.

The working class, by delivering itself from capitalist slavery, delivers the whole of society from oppression. It claims no privileges from other sections of society, and undertakes to help all working people free themselves from exploitation.

The *Communist Manifesto* says: "All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air."*

The international character of the labour movement. The writings of Marx and Engels show how the development of the productive forces with the rise of capitalist relations led to the formation of a world economy, how economic relations between

* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Moscow, 1962, Vol. I, p. 44.

individual countries extended to the whole world and how these economic relations were followed by the rapid growth of cultural and various other contacts between nations. "In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations."*

The working class expresses the progressive trend in mankind's advance to a world-wide family of nations, to the elimination of hostility, discord, aloofness and alienation between peoples.

The exploiters' private ownership of the means of production is the main factor which divides people and encourages the enslavement of other peoples causing wars and inter-national enmity. It is only through the abolition of exploitation and the building of a socialist society—the historic mission of the working class—that complete equality and indestructible friendship among nations can be established.

"In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to.

"In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."**

The working class has no interests likely to cause hostility toward other nations. In fact, the workers

* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Moscow, 1962, Vol. I, p. 38.

** *Ibid.*, p. 51.

of all countries have one fundamental interest and goal in common, and that is to overthrow capitalist oppression. This is why the proletariat is an international force fighting against the international power of capital. Internationalism, international solidarity, and unity of action by the working people of all countries are necessary conditions for the success of their fight for socialism. World capitalism cannot be defeated nor world socialism established without the workers of all countries waging a joint struggle.

The working-class movement strives for the international unity and co-operation of the working people. It puts the common interests of the international working class above particular, local, and purely national interests. The various national contingents of the working class show their international solidarity by seeking unity and co-ordinated action, by helping and supporting each other. However, their relations can only be promoted on a voluntary basis, on the understanding that every national contingent of the working class is sovereign and has the right to settle its own affairs as it sees fit. Only complete equality and respect for the interests of the working people of different nations can increase mutual trust and stimulate the desire to co-operate. Attempts to foment national prejudice and substitute the racial for the class approach are most detrimental to the interests of the working people of all countries, and have nothing to do with scientific socialism. Only the imperialists can benefit from

making people believe that it is not people's social position or the class they belong to that determine the aims of their struggle, but the colour of their skin or their nationality. Marx's and Engels's immortal slogan, "*Workers of All Countries, Unite!*", expresses the inviolable internationalist principle of the working-class movement.

The necessity for a revolutionary party. Marx and Engels established that the working class can fulfil its historical mission, that is, effect the revolutionary transformation of capitalist into socialist society, provided it forms a political party of its own. The founders of scientific socialism, who were not only great scholars but also capable organisers of revolutionary struggles, spent decades working on the founding and consolidation of a working-class party. In 1847 they founded the first Communist organisation, known as the Communist League. The famous *Communist Manifesto* was published as a programme document of the League. In 1864 the International Working Men's Association (First International) was founded on the initiative of Marx and Engels. It provided conditions for founding workers' parties in the capitalist countries.

The *Communist Manifesto* stated the fundamental principles of the policy of the working-class party. It said the party had no interests other than those of the proletariat as a whole. In the struggle of the proletarians of different countries, the party defended the common interests of the whole proletariat irrespective of nationality. The proletar-

iat's struggle against the bourgeoisie went through different stages of development, but the genuinely proletarian class party represented the movement as a whole in all these stages. In fighting for the immediate objectives and interests of the working class, the party upheld the future of the movement in the movement of today. In its activity the party did not lose sight of the ultimate goal of the labour movement, which was to build a classless society. "The Communists, therefore, are, on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement," we read in the *Communist Manifesto*.*

Everywhere the revolutionary party of the proletariat supports every revolutionary movement directed against the social and political system of exploitation. Everywhere it strives for unity and agreement among the democratic parties of all countries.

Under different historical conditions, Lenin further advanced Marx's and Engels's conclusions about the revolutionary party of the working class, its organisation and policies. He created a har-

* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Moscow, 1962, Vol. I, p. 46.

monious theory of the proletarian party, demonstrated the party's leading role with regard to the working class and working people generally, and developed the principles of its inner life and its policies.

Lenin showed that the proletariat, in its struggle for power, has no weapon other than organisation. In the bourgeois world, he pointed out, the working class is disunited and split by anarchic competition, it is ground down by forced labour for the capitalists, and is constantly being cast by the exploiting system to the "lower depths" of utter destitution, savagery and degeneration. The proletariat can, and inevitably will, become an invincible force only through its ideological unification on the principles of scientific socialism, provided this unification is reinforced by the material unity of the organisation, which welds millions of toilers into an army of the working class.*

The party is the *vanguard* and the *highest form* of the class organisation of the proletariat. Of all the organisations formed by the working class—trade unions, mutual benefit societies, youth associations, co-operatives, etc.—only the political party of the proletariat can properly express the fundamental interests of the working class and ensure its complete victory. Since the party is a political organisation of the highest type, it does not confine itself to the struggle for the satisfaction of the working people's current needs, but

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 7, p. 415.

aims at bringing the working class to power, so as to transform society on revolutionary lines.

The proletarian party, the most *politically conscious* contingent of the working class, unifies, educates and organises the proletariat and all working people. It teaches them to know their interests and position, and to pursue their own policy. In the ranks of their party the foremost workers acquire theoretical knowledge and political experience, which are necessary for directing any form of the proletariat's class struggle. As an organisation of the advanced elements of its class, equipped with a revolutionary scientific theory, the proletarian party is in a position to resist vacillation, prejudice, and the traditions of the former society, which are maintained among the people by the exploiting system and bourgeois propaganda, and by the capitalists' effort to split the working people. The party is the vanguard of the working class, the teacher and leader of all working and exploited people, both in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and in the organising of its social life without the bourgeoisie, and against the bourgeoisie.

The Marxist party *embodies the link* between the vanguard and the millions of workers, the *masses*. Although it is a class party, it has deep roots not only among the proletariat but in other sections of the people. Its members are ordinary workers, peasants and intellectuals, sons and daughters of the common people. But they are distinguished by a high degree of political con-

sciousness and ideological staunchness, and hence by a revolutionary spirit and by their readiness to bear all hardships in the service of the great idea the party is striving to realise. Their interests are those of the people. The party makes every effort to strengthen and extend its bonds with the people, and to win the trust of its class. It becomes a real leader of the people not just because it proclaims its leading role, but because it knows the needs of the working people, properly expresses and defends their interests, and convinces them that it is right and is capable of leading them not merely by words but by deeds, by its policy, initiative and devotion.

The party sees it as its duty to work wherever there are working people, work in all organisations as well as among the unorganised masses to reach the most backward and ignorant sections of the people, to know how to talk to them, to establish close ties with them, and patiently promote their revolutionary consciousness. In working among the people, the party must always see to it that its doctrine is not reduced to a cut-and-dried dogma, to scholasticism, for the people have to be educated not only by means of books but above all by the experience of their everyday struggles, in which the party takes part. It can only lead the people if it takes their experience and the level of their class consciousness into account, and if it does not lose sight of reality and does not try to rush developments. In order that the masses should decide to fight, it is not enough to put for-

ward slogans, no matter how revolutionary. What is needed is the people's own political experience, and the conviction that they must do as the party suggests. In taking account of the level of the people's political consciousness, the party should not adapt itself to those who are lagging behind, nor let events drift. As it proceeds from reality and rejects all projects and programmes that are not linked with reality, a Marxist party should keep ahead of a spontaneous movement and show it the way forward. It can fulfil this task because it pools the experience of its class and of the people as a whole, assessing it in the light of history, international experience, and the theory of scientific socialism. It also ascertains the trends that have not yet manifested themselves in full but which belong to the future, and can therefore propose solutions to the problems with which the people are concerned, in good time.

The Party can lead the people and teach them provided it learns from them, that is, if it carefully studies the people's experience, and if it absorbs the people's collective wisdom. Learn from the masses in order to teach them—this is the principle of leadership followed by revolutionary parties taking guidance from the theory of scientific socialism.

Even a party enjoying the greatest prestige among the people may discredit itself if it stops seeing to it that its prestige continues to grow, and that its policy, and every measure it adopts, has the backing of the people. The party cannot

behave like an infallible teacher. It should speak to the people frankly, without concealing mistakes, weak spots, or difficulties. It is vitally interested in that the people should actively participate in the discussion and decision of all questions posed by reality.

The working-class party is intolerant towards capitalism. Revolutionary enthusiasm is one of its outstanding characteristics, and it invariably suits its actions to its words. It combines the revolutionary theory of scientific socialism and the revolutionary practice of fighting to abolish exploitation and reorganise society along socialist lines.

The revolutionary character of the party determines the principles of its organisation, the standards of its inner life, its unity of action, and the flexibility of its tactics.

The party must be based on the principles of *centralism* if it is to express properly the interests of its class as a whole, and to have a firm organisation capable of succeeding in the struggle against the class enemy and of establishing a new society. This means that it must have a single centralised leadership and a single discipline binding on every member, and it must adhere to the principle of submission of the minority to the will of the majority, of the lower organisations to the higher ones. This is the sole condition on which the party can express the single will of the proletariat, co-ordinate and combine numerous individual actions in a common struggle, rally all forces and direct them toward a single goal.

But the party of the working class is a voluntary union of fellow-thinkers who have devoted themselves to the struggle to abolish exploitation and build a socialist society. Its common will can, therefore, be shaped only by democratic methods, that is, jointly, by collective effort. The party should always encourage the activity of every member and ensure that they all take part in discussing important questions of party life. Such discussion brings out different opinions, proposals and experience, and culminates in the adoption of decisions which are obligatory for everyone. The centralism of the new type of party is therefore *democratic* centralism, based on the approval and will of the bulk of the party membership. In any party organisation, democratic centralism implies—together with strict discipline and the submission of the minority to the majority and of the lower organisations to the higher ones—that all leading party bodies shall be elected from the top to the bottom and shall at regular intervals render account to the party organisations that have elected them. In such a way it entitles every party member to discuss all questions, control the carrying out of decisions, elect leaders, and be informed of and verify their work.

On the other hand, the party expects its members to submit to a decision once it has been adopted and to carry it out in good faith. Attempts to organise special groups or factions within the party in order to oppose the policy formulated collectively, and decisions approved by

the majority, are incompatible with party discipline and with the very character of the new type of party, which must lead the struggle of the working people. Such attempts cannot be reconciled with the party's responsibility to the working class, the people, and the world-wide liberation movement.

Lenin, who regarded the party as the only force with whose aid society can be transformed, devoted many years of struggle, and his genius as a thinker and organiser, to the task of founding it. Founded by him the Bolshevik Party led the working class and all the working people of Russia during the October Revolution. It was under the party's leadership that the world's first socialist society was established in the Soviet Union, a society which grew in difficult external and internal conditions.

IV. THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Marx and Engels on the necessity for the socialist revolution. One mode of production, one social system, succeeds another as a result of the class struggle, which is particularly bitter when the last exploiting system is being replaced. The transition from capitalism to socialism can only be effected by the most strenuous class struggle against the bourgeoisie on the part of the working class, and as a result of a socialist revolution. On the other hand, the growth of class antagonisms in capitalist society makes this revolution inevitable.

Marx and Engels rejected the Utopian Socialist idea that it is possible to advance from capitalism to socialism by educating and persuading the exploiters. To be able to build a socialist society, the proletariat must win political power by wresting it from the capitalists and landowners.

The theory of scientific socialism interprets the *socialist revolution*, in the broad sense of the term, as the totality of the political and economic

changes leading to the complete abolition of capitalism and the construction of socialism. It begins with a political revolution which overthrows capitalist rule and establishes the rule of the working people. This political revolution is also called a *proletarian revolution*.

Marx and Engels showed that the development of economic and social relations under capitalism paves the way for the socialist revolution. The productive forces engendered by capitalist society, and the system of distributing the wealth which it has created, come into an acute conflict with the mode of production, transcend its limits, and must of necessity destroy it. The means of production and production itself become, in effect, social, but they remain subordinate to the private form of appropriation. "*The contradiction between socialised production and capitalistic appropriation manifested itself as the antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie,*" wrote Engels in *Anti-Dühring*.^{*} Marx and Engels showed that the level of development of the productive forces achieved by capitalism makes it possible to do away once and for all with class distinctions in the interests of the progress of society as a whole. It was bourgeois large-scale industry which created the proletariat—"a class, which for the first time in history can demand the annihilation, not simply of any specific class organisation or of any specific class

^{*} Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1954, pp. 375-76.

privilege, but of classes generally" (F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*).

Lenin develops the theory of the socialist revolution. Marx and Engels, who based themselves on the conditions prevailing under pre-monopoly capitalism, came to the conclusion that the revolution could not win in one country. They held that the socialist revolution would not only be a national revolution but would, moreover, take place simultaneously in all the civilised countries, or at least in most of the developed countries.

That conclusion was suggested by the historical situation of the time. But by the beginning of this century the conditions for world development underwent the most radical changes. Capitalism entered its last stage, the stage of monopoly capitalism, of imperialism. According to Lenin, it had grown into a world system of colonial oppression and of the financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the population of the world by a handful of "advanced" countries.*

In that period all the antagonisms of capitalism reached their most acute stage.

The contradiction between labour and capital, between the working class and the bourgeoisie, greatly increased because the exploitation of the workers took the most ruthless forms under imperialism. The workers received an ever-decreasing share of the national wealth created by their

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 191.

labour. To gain maximum profit, the capitalist monopolies, aided by the bourgeois state, put increasing pressure on the working people, deprived them of the already curtailed political and economic rights, and installed cruel dictators. The major groups of manufacturers unscrupulously exploited not only the workers, but the bulk of the peasants, artisans, small traders, and lower and middle class clerical employees.

The antagonisms between imperialist countries and groups of countries took a sharp turn for the worse.

The imperialists fought among themselves for the redivision of a world already divided, for colonies, markets, and sources of cheap raw materials. The result was imperialist wars, world wars which brought the peoples tremendous calamities, and which, now under existing conditions threaten the extermination of peoples. But the struggle between imperialist countries, and the wars that broke out between them deepened even more the working people's hatred for the capitalists, undermined imperialism, shook the foundations of the capitalist system, and facilitated the revolutionary overthrow of bourgeois rule.

The antagonisms between the handful of imperialist countries, on the one hand, and the numerous colonies and semi-colonies, where hundreds of millions of working people were enslaved, on the other, were immeasurably aggravated.

Lenin, who showed the extreme aggravation of all contradictions under imperialism, came to the conclusion that this stage was the last stage of capitalism. He characterised imperialism as a decaying and moribund capitalism, and as the eve of the socialist revolution. The First World War (1914-18), during which Lenin was forming this conclusion, started the *general crisis of capitalism*. The world capitalist system as a whole was already ripe for social revolution.

Taking the new circumstances into account, Lenin revised Marx's and Engels's thesis that socialism would triumph simultaneously in all, or most, capitalist countries. The economic and political development of capitalism (at the imperialist stage) is particularly uneven, and proceeds by leaps and bounds. It is for this reason that the conditions for revolution do not mature simultaneously in different countries. Hence Lenin's important conclusion that the victory of revolution in all countries at once is impossible, but that socialism can win first in several countries or even in one country.

This conclusion was a major contribution to the theory of the socialist revolution and had invaluable significance for the victory of the working class in its struggle against imperialism. Lenin's theory implied that the working class of any country must not remain inactive and wait for the revolution to win in all countries simultaneously. The proletariat of a country where conditions were ripe for revolution should not wait

till a similar situation arose in other countries. It should use every opportunity to take power into its own hands and effect the transition to socialism in its country. It would thereby fulfil its internationalist duty toward its fellow-workers, toward the world proletariat. The victory of the revolution in one country would have a tremendous impact on the international movement, which in turn would strengthen and ease the position of the victorious proletariat. In this way the working people would show their international solidarity. The victory of socialism in one country would provide the basis for strengthening and promoting the world revolutionary movement, for supporting and assisting the proletariat and the people as a whole in other countries.

Lenin also came to the conclusion that at a time when imperialism had become a world system it was not absolutely necessary for the revolution to take place in the most developed capitalist country. The imperialist chain would be pierced in its weakest link, at the spot where capitalist antagonisms were acutest and the revolutionary forces strongest. Nor did the socialist revolution need the transformation of the proletariat into the majority of the population. What it did need was a definite standard of capitalist development, and the existence of a proletariat and its party who could lead the non-proletarian section of the working people, primarily the peasants. The revolution would not be a single act or a single battle. It would be a whole epoch of class struggles—

economic, political and ideological. The world revolutionary process would be a series of battles of all the oppressed and discontented classes, groups and elements of the population, above all of the whole proletariat and its ally, the peasantry, against the ruling classes. It would consist of the movement of the proletarian mass against the landowner, bourgeois, national and other forms of oppression, of revolts of the colonial peoples, and other forms of mass struggle. The task of the proletariat was to direct all these actions and movements toward a single goal, which was to overthrow imperialism and accomplish the socialist revolution.

Lenin firmly opposed the opportunists of the Second International, who had begun to adapt and adjust themselves to the colonial policies of imperialism and were busy looking for would-be scientific arguments in support of their theories of "labour colonialism" and "socialist colonialism". Lenin showed that the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement was shaking the world system of oppression, weakening it and thereby making it easier for the workers of the more developed countries to begin fighting against imperialism. On the other hand, the workers' revolutionary struggle guaranteed the success of the oppressed peoples' emancipation struggle. The content of the slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!" was thus extended. In his slogan "Workers of all countries, and oppressed peoples, unite!"

Lenin expressed the idea of unifying the anti-imperialist forces of all countries and continents.

The Great October Socialist Revolution in the U.S.S.R. in 1917 brilliantly confirmed Lenin's conclusion. It was a triumph of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist revolution.

How to approach and accomplish the socialist revolution. The theory of scientific socialism shows that socialist revolutions cannot be brought about artificially or imported from another country. Revolution matures within the society of the country concerned—it originates in crises caused by objective developments.

Lenin created the theory of the revolutionary situation. Such a situation has three principal characteristics: first, the inability of the ruling classes to continue their rule in the old way. "For a revolution to take place," Lenin wrote in 1915, "it is usually insufficient for 'the lower classes not to want' to live in the old way; it is also necessary that 'the upper classes should be unable' to live in the old way"*; secondly, an extraordinary aggravation of the hardships and privations of the working people as a result of crisis; thirdly, a considerable increase in discontent and indignation at the behaviour of the ruling classes, which is manifested in revolutionary actions by the mass of the people.

It is these objective conditions—that is, conditions which do not depend on the will of

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 213-14.

individuals, parties or classes—that create a revolutionary situation.

But not every revolutionary situation develops into a revolution. Such a development requires not only objective conditions but subjective ones as well, and the ability and willingness of the progressive class to revolt against the ruling classes. And these are conditions which are prepared by the working-class party, a party guided by the revolutionary theory of Marxism.

Every country differs from other countries in its standard of economic development, balance of class forces, and historical traditions. Every country has its own peculiarities as regards the growth of the revolutionary movement and the shaping of a revolutionary situation. The international situation and the world-wide liberation movement are reflected in each country differently. This is why the theory of scientific socialism does not try to prescribe the same pattern for all countries and peoples. The revolutionary party must take account of the specific conditions in the country concerned, the peculiarities of its economy, politics and culture, the traditions of its labour and emancipation movement, the customs and psychology of its people, and so on.

However, the theory of scientific socialism shows the common nature and common foundations of the system of capitalist exploitation in all countries, and the common fundamental laws governing the development of this system. Therefore, the replacement of capitalism by socialism is

basically one and the same process in all countries. It begins with two radical changes: first, the exploiting classes are stripped of political power, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the rule of the working people led by the workers, is established; secondly, the property of the capitalists and landowners is abolished, and the basic means of production become social property. These changes can occur in different forms, but without them there is no socialism, nor can there be socialism. The advance to socialism is governed by general laws which do not depend on national peculiarities. The original, distinctive conditions in this or that country may modify the forms and methods used in bringing about revolutionary changes, but they cannot abolish the general laws themselves. Despite its distinguishing features, the road to socialism taken by a country cannot in principle differ from the road to socialism taken by other countries. There is only one genuine socialism—scientific socialism, which has established principles of organising a new society that are common to all countries and peoples. These common principles are creatively applied by the revolutionary parties concerned in the specific conditions of their countries, and the revolutionary experience of each country in turn contributes to the theory of the socialist revolution, of the construction of a new society.

The question of power is the chief question facing every revolution. Wherever bourgeois revolutions took place power was transferred from

the feudal lords to the bourgeoisie, that is, from one exploiting class to another. The first and most important task of the socialist revolution is to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie and transfer power to the working class and its allies.

How does the proletariat accomplish this task? A great deal depends on the conditions in which the revolution in question takes place.

The working class and its vanguard—the revolutionary party—are interested in the socialist revolution taking place peacefully, without bloodshed, without civil war and loss of life. But they always bear in mind another possibility—that of a non-peaceful transition to socialism. When the exploiting classes use arms to defend their privileges, the working class accomplishes a revolution by means of an armed struggle.

Strength can only be overcome by strength. The revolutionary party teaches the working class to prepare to fight for power, to muster its forces, rally its allies, and master every means and form of struggle, peaceful and non-peaceful alike.

In whatever form the transition from capitalism to socialism is effected—whether peaceful or not—it can come about only as a result of the class struggle and socialist revolution.

V. THE DOCTRINE OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM. THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM

The necessity for a transitional period. The working class takes power with the aim of using its political rule to abolish capitalism and build socialism. But socialism cannot be built unless the economy and all social relations are radically transformed.

There have been many revolutions in human history. But, until the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia in October 1917, they all left private ownership of the means of production intact, and merely changed the owners. And so long as there is a class owning the means of production and a class without these means, exploitation will persist.

The socialist revolution differs from all previous revolutions in that it abolishes private ownership of the means of production, that is, removes the very cause of the division of society into rich and poor, oppressors and oppressed. As a result of the socialist revolution, the land, factories, banks, railways and big shops, once owned by the capitalists and landed proprietors, become the

property of the whole people. The working people become their own masters.

It follows that the socialist revolution changes the life of society more radically than any earlier revolution. This is why the socialist mode of production, unlike all previous modes, cannot form of itself, spontaneously, within the old society. Socialism cannot arise ready-made, the day after the victory of the revolution. It takes conscious and purposeful activity by the working class in power and its allies to create it.

In any country, the socialist transformation of the economy, and of the life of society as a whole, requires a transitional period. The socialist revolution deprives the exploiting classes of political power and transfers it to the working people led by the working class. There follows a period of transition from capitalism to socialism, when capitalism has been overthrown but has not been abolished completely, when the exploiting classes, although stripped of their power, continue to fight, and when socialist changes are being carried out but socialism has not yet been built. It is a period of struggle between moribund capitalism and the new rising society, a period of the formation of this society.

The dictatorship of the proletariat. In his work *The Critique of the Gotha Programme* (1875), Marx wrote: "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period

in which the state can be nothing but the *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*.”*

What, then, is the dictatorship of the proletariat?

It is the rule of the working people led by the proletariat, and its aim is the building of socialism.

Can the working class completely defeat the bourgeoisie and build socialism without establishing its dictatorship? Historical experience has shown that it cannot. When the working class takes power into its hands, all the exploiting classes which have lost their power and wealth continue to fight bitterly in an effort to retrieve what they have lost. They do not abandon hopes of re-establishing the old order, because for a long time they retain considerable strength. What is this strength?

First of all, after being defeated in one country, the bourgeoisie can, with good reason, count on the aid of international capital, of the exploiting classes still in power in other countries. It is well known that fourteen countries helped Russia's capitalists and landowners to wage war against the victorious workers and peasants.

Secondly, the victory of the socialist revolution does not mean that the exploiters at once lose all their wealth. They still own money and some property. Taking advantage of obsolete views, habits and customs still dominating people's mentality, they try to win the support of the

* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Moscow, 1962, Vol. II, pp. 32-33.

small proprietors—peasants, artisans and handicraftsmen. They enlist the help of all sorts of scum, including common criminals, obstruct economic progress, and so on.

Lastly, the members of the exploiting classes are better educated. They have experience in the management and organisation of production, and in warfare. They keep their links with engineers, writers, teachers and journalists, through whom they try to exert political influence on the people.

All this makes it imperative for the working class to establish a strong and firm authority which will, if necessary, impose its will by force. Consequently, the dictatorship of the proletariat is needed primarily to break the resistance of the exploiting classes which have been overthrown, transfer the land, factories, mines, railways and other means of production to the people, defend and consolidate the gains of the revolution against encroachment from external enemies, and organise socialist construction.

The working people, who for thousands of years have suffered from violence at the hands of the exploiters, would readily renounce all forms of coercion. But they are forced to use them by the defeated exploiting classes themselves. The working class exercising its dictatorship is prepared to give members of the once ruling class the opportunity to work honestly and to merge gradually with the working people. At the same time it resolutely foils all attempts on their part to obstruct the construction of a new life.

The dictatorship of the proletariat means the rule of the overwhelming majority of society over an insignificant minority, while the dictatorship of any exploiting class, whether slave-owning, feudal or capitalist, has invariably meant the rule of the minority over the majority of the people. The dictatorship of the proletariat expresses and defends the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. It serves the just cause of eliminating exploitation and building socialism, whereas all previous states served the selfish interests of a handful of exploiters. This is why the dictatorship of the proletariat is the most democratic of all the forms of power which have existed.

The dictatorship of the proletariat plays a tremendous creative role by building a new, socialist society.

To build socialism, it is necessary to socialise not only large-scale industry, but also small-scale production, primarily peasant farming. It is necessary to achieve a rapid growth of the productive forces in order to increase the country's economic and defence potential and steadily improve the working people's standard of living. It is necessary to bring human relations and people's culture and social consciousness into line with socialist ideals.

The working class fulfils all these tasks by using its dictatorship. It takes care of every aspect of the socialist reorganisation of society, drawing all working people, all its allies, into socialist

construction, leading them and guiding their efforts toward the common goal.

Both the struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and the political organisation of society in the transitional period can take different forms, depending on the situation in the country concerned.

"All nations," Lenin wrote in 1919, "will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life."*

But whatever the form in which the transition from capitalism to socialism takes place, this transition cannot be effected other than through revolution. And however varied the forms of the new state power may be in the period of socialist construction, their nature will always be the same, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is only the revolutionary party that leads, and can lead, the entire struggle of the working class to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism after the socialist revolution. The party is the cementing and leading force of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It guides the activities of state, trade union, youth and all other organisations.

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 23, pp. 69-70.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a necessary condition and indispensable instrument for building socialism. It is needed throughout the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. But it is not everlasting, any more than the division of society into hostile classes is everlasting.

When socialism has been built and consolidated, that is, when private ownership of the means of production—the basis of all exploitation—and the exploiting classes have been abolished, when the productive forces have made powerful progress and socialist production relations have become firmly established, and when the people have become solidly united, both socially and politically, the dictatorship of the proletariat ceases to be necessary. In the Soviet Union, where socialism has triumphed finally and completely and where society has entered the period of full-scale communist construction, the dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its great historic mission and has ceased to be necessary as far as internal development is concerned. It has become a socialist state of the whole people.

General laws of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The experience of the socialist countries has shown that the socialist revolution and socialist construction are governed by a number of important laws common to all countries.

What are these laws?

The leadership of the working people on the part of the working class, whose core is the party,

equipped with the theory of scientific socialism, in accomplishing the proletarian revolution in one form or another and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another. We have already dealt with the meaning and importance of this law.

The alliance of the working class and the mass of the peasantry and other sections of the working people. The working class consistently expresses the interests of all working people. It fights not alone but in alliance with them and therefore succeeds. This alliance becomes even more important during socialist construction, when the foundations for the future classless society are laid.

The abolition of capitalist property, and the establishment of social ownership of the basic means of production. Private capitalist property underlies the exploitation of the working people. It underlies class antagonisms, and class rule and subordination in society. Socialism is out of the question unless the rule of capitalist property is abolished.

The gradual socialist transformation of agriculture. Small peasant farms cannot rid themselves of poverty, cannot use up-to-date highly efficient machinery. Owing to its nature, small-scale farming is continually breeding new exploiters, who take advantage of the poverty and hardships of the vast majority of the peasants to enrich themselves at their expense, and become capitalists.

During the transition to socialism individual peasant farms are gradually transformed on a voluntary basis into large socialist co-operatives. In this way the peasants join in socialist construction, with the result that their living and cultural standards are improved and the alliance of the working class and the peasantry is strengthened. Unlimited opportunities are created in agriculture for the use of the latest machinery and progressive agronomy, while all exploitation is ruled out altogether.

Planned economic development aimed at building a new society and improving the living standard of the working people. Socialism ends capitalist anarchy in production. Economic development according to a single centralised plan is a distinguishing feature of socialism, and constitutes its greatest advantage over all previous forms of society. It enables socialism to achieve rapid progress in production, supplies the people with increasing quantities of material benefits, and creates unlimited opportunities for their cultural advancement.

The accomplishment of the socialist revolution in the fields of ideology and culture, and the training of a large body of intellectuals devoted to the working class, to the people, to the socialist cause. To administer the state, manage economic development, promote technology and continuously increase labour productivity, it is necessary to end illiteracy and train a large body of scientific and technical personnel.

Under capitalism, some people enjoy all the blessings of technology and culture, while the rest lack even a minimum education and opportunity for cultural progress. Man's genius is made to serve exploitation and the rule of force. The chief task of the cultural revolution is to bring culture within reach of the people. This means, first of all, bridging the gulf which in an exploiting society separates the people from culture. It means making all spiritual riches, all achievements in science and art, the property of all the people. Secondly, it means greatly improving the educational and cultural standard of the mass of the working people, and allowing wide scope for the fullest development of popular talent. As socialism is built socialist ideas take increasingly firm hold of the minds of people, helping to mould the new man.

In the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the cultural standard of the people was promoted and a large body of professional workers trained, within a short period. The Soviet Union has long since left all capitalist countries far behind in cultural standard and in the number of specialists who have received a higher or a secondary education. The workers and peasants are steadily improving their cultural and technical knowledge. A very short time ago it took Cuba—a country which had only just taken the socialist road—a mere two years to do away with illiteracy in town and country alike.

The abolition of national oppression, and the establishment of equality and brotherhood between peoples. Socialism puts an end to national discord and to the oppression of small and economically underdeveloped nations. Equality and brotherly relations between peoples are a principle of socialism.

Scientific socialism proves and defends the right of nations to self-determination, the right of every people to shape their own destiny. It upholds the most consistent democratic approach to the nationalities problem. It links the solution of the nationalities problem with the class struggle of the proletariat, the development of democracy and the victory of socialism. The aim of the nationalities policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is not only to guarantee juridical equality for all nationalities, but to help them achieve real equality—economic and cultural. In the transition to socialism in the U.S.S.R., the most rapid rise of industrialisation is ensured precisely in those non-Russian republics which have suffered most under capitalism. Whereas the output of large-scale industry throughout the Soviet Union increased almost twelvefold between 1913 and 1940, the respective figures for the most backward Soviet republics were 19.5 in Kazakhstan, 22.6 in Armenia, 153 in Kirghizia and 324 in Tajikistan. With the fraternal assistance of socialist nations, all the Soviet peoples have outgrown their one-time backwardness. Every Soviet non-Russian republic and region has set up an up-to-date industry which

holds a key position in the economy, and a highly productive agriculture.

The non-Russian republics have made outstanding progress not only in economy but in culture. In all of them instruction is conducted in the local language, whereas under capitalism many of them even lacked a written language. Today they have their alphabets, grammars and textbooks, and their own teachers. Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenia and Kirghizia had no higher educational establishments before the Revolution. Today they have dozens of them, and train engineers, agronomists, doctors, teachers and other specialists. In addition to the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., academies of sciences have been set up in every Union Republic.

Many peoples of the Soviet Union lacked a literature and theatre of their own. Nowadays they have every reason to be proud of their achievements in literature, music, painting, architecture and drama. Books, newspapers and magazines are published in the languages of every Soviet people.

The nations and nationalities of the U.S.S.R. are united by close friendship and take an active part in the building of a new life.

The defence of the gains of socialism against attack from external and internal enemies. The overthrown exploiting classes never relinquish power of their own free will. Backed by international reaction they make frantic efforts to restore their rule. In Russia, the landowners and bour-

geoisie started a civil war against the victorious workers and peasants, and sought aid from foreign invaders. The socialist countries are strengthening their defences to safeguard the gains of the working people.

The solidarity of the working class of each country and the working class of other countries, the working people of the whole world. Socialism replaces discord and enmity between the peoples of different countries, typical of the exploiting system, by the brotherhood and co-operation of all nations, and by the growing unity of the working people of the globe.

The Replacement of Pre-Capitalist by Socialist Production Relations

The question of the development of countries which have won national independence or are fighting for it is one of the major problems facing mankind. The imperialist powers, having enslaved those countries and excluded them, as it were, from the range of general historical progress, doomed them to age-long backwardness. Whereas in European and American countries capitalism has matured and overmatured, with part of the world already going over to a new system—socialism and communism—feudal and pre-feudal relations have survived in Asia (except Japan), Africa and some Latin-American countries. Colonialism

has left them a heritage of economic backwardness, poverty and illiteracy.

For many centuries Africa was subject to the most cruel and humiliating oppression by West European bourgeois countries. Attempting to justify the indignities and atrocities they committed against the Africans, the capitalists described them as inferior people incapable of independent creative effort. The people of Africa are now gaining their freedom and striking shattering blows at the system of colonial exploitation. They have proved that their ability for historical progress, the transformation of society, the development of democracy, productive labour, and creative endeavour in science, technology and art is in no way inferior to that of the people of other continents. They refuse to go on along the disastrous path condemned by history—to set one race or nation against another. This path inevitably leads to racial and national hatred, to a struggle between peoples that only profits a small handful of exploiters, while the mass of the people suffer hardships and privations. The working people of Africa want to maintain friendly relations and co-operate with the working people of all continents.

Africa is looking for the *quickest* method of getting rid of economic and cultural backwardness. An increasing number of African statesmen, politicians and ordinary working people are choosing socialism, which they see as the shortest road to a radical transformation of society.

Is it possible to skip capitalism and go over to socialism in those countries where pre-capitalist production relations prevail, where there is little or no large-scale industry, no working class—to which world history has assigned an emancipation mission—and where almost the entire population is composed of small independent peasants or peasants belonging to tribal communes?

Scientific socialism says yes, any country, however backward, can now go over to socialism, skipping capitalism. Capitalism was a necessary and inevitable stage in the development of human society. But for socialism to triumph all over the globe, it is by no means indispensable that bourgeois social relations should fully develop in every country. "In so far as large-scale industry on a world scale exists," Lenin wrote, "a direct transition to socialism is undoubtedly possible."* Backward countries can go over to socialism, skipping the capitalist stage, with support from the victorious working class of other countries and from the socialist countries.

The working people of different countries help one another go over to socialism. They emphatically reject relations of exploitation, of rule and subordination, between peoples. The socialist social system will sooner or later be established in all countries of the world, and this means that the new society will be created, among others, by

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 33, p. 134.

peoples which imperialism had doomed to backwardness.

To take the capitalist road today, at a time when capitalism has been eliminated in part of the world and is doomed to go out of existence, as a whole, means limiting the prospects of development, and looking back instead of ahead. Life calls for real solutions to social problems in the interests of the people. But surely the development of social inequality, the growing exploitation of the majority of society by the minority, and the refusal to boost national economic development and improve the people's standard of living provide no solution. In the present epoch, no country can make real progress without advancing to socialism.

The newly-independent countries can make rapid social progress by developing national democracy, a state expressing the interests of the mass of the people, consistently upholding its political and economic independence, and fighting against imperialism and imperialist military pacts, against new forms of colonialism and of penetration of imperialist capital. National democracy rejects dictatorial, despotic methods of government; it gives the people extensive democratic rights and liberties and enables them to seek democratic and social changes and take part in shaping state policy.

The conditions for the transition from pre-capitalist relations to socialism differ from one country to another. They depend, first of all, on the

level of social development achieved in the country concerned.

Forms of communal property or remnants of these forms still linger in many African countries. They date from the period before colonial conquest, the rise of commodity production, and the establishment of imperialist exploitation. What these forms have in common with socialism is that the means of production are public and not private property. But that is as far as their similarity to socialism goes. Engels wrote that this characteristic alone does not enable so old a form of production to engender the socialist society of the future.*

The tribal commune has only underdeveloped, primitive means of production. More often than not it is only simple reproduction that is carried out with great difficulty, that is, production under which the volume is unchanged, labour productivity very low, and the economic activity and the entire life of the commune extremely conservative. The tribal commune comprises a small number of people. It is an exclusive local group unconnected by production or other economic interests with other similar groups. All this sets the old communal system apart from socialist society, which implies a high degree of development of the productive forces, a fast rate of economic growth, the production of material benefits on a vast scale, the steady improvement of the people's standard

* Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 428.

of living, rapid progress in education, science and culture, and close bonds between production communities on the basis of public socialist property.

In Africa, the popular forms of social property are socially and economically of the same type as in other continents, such as the old peasant community in Eastern Europe or the Indian communities of Latin America. These forms, which are distinguished by social ownership of the means of production, were practised by all peoples in the period when there was no class division. History has so far supplied no examples of these forms—survivals of the tribal system—which have been able to lead on to the higher form of collectivist society, that is, socialist society. What is more, they have nowhere been able to resist the disruptive effect of commodity production and the world market. "In no place and at no time," Engels wrote, "has agrarian communism, surviving from the tribal system, produced anything but its own decay."* In many African countries, the colonialists made the communal organisation typical of the enslaved tribes serve their own ends. They turned the free members of the commune into plantation slaves. In many communes, a stratum of private owners came into being who seized collective property and exploited their tribesmen.

This is not to say, however, that the ancient popular forms of collective property and labour

* *Ibid.*, S. 427.

can play no useful part in building a new society in Africa. On that continent we already have examples of people's rule setting out to transform the economy and the way of life radically, establish control over the basic means of production, promote economic planning and concentrate all basic accumulations by means of the state budget. Such popular rule can give the peasant community a new lease of life and help cultivators turn the community into a production co-operative. The experience of Mali, Ghana and some other African countries shows that the anti-imperialist forces can arouse the initiative of the working people and set in motion popular enthusiasm, a production factor unprecedented in colonial history.

Engels foresaw this eventuality when, in 1894, he wrote: "...Those countries which have just had the opportunity to enter on the path of capitalist production and where tribal practices or remnants of them survive can use these remnants of communal tenure, and the corresponding popular customs, as a powerful means whereby they can considerably shorten the process of their advance to a socialist society, and avoid the greater part of the hardships and struggles through which we in Western Europe have to make our way."* However, Engels stressed the vast importance of the example and active support of the countries where the socialist mode of production

* Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 428.

would have already triumphed. This example and this active support, he said, is a "necessary condition" because these countries cannot take this road of a speeded-up process of development until they have seen "how it is done".

The historical experience of mankind shows that with the economic laws operating spontaneously, it took a long time to pass from one economic formation to another, a more progressive one. This transition required hundreds or even thousands of years. The socialist, planned economy was the first to create conditions for the conscious activity of the members of society aimed at hastening historical development. This is why the socialist mode of production is making such unprecedented progress compared with the capitalist mode. The economic laws of socialism are powerful locomotives carrying society forward—the fewer the obstacles lying in the way, the faster the progress.

Russia, Poland and some other countries fell short—before the proletariat came to power there—of the world average output per head of population. After the socialist revolutions it took them a historically short period to attain and, indeed, considerably surpass that average. Today they are fast catching up in production level and labour productivity with the most developed bourgeois countries, where capitalism has been developing in particularly favourable conditions and has achieved the greatest results. The Soviet Union and a number of other socialist countries have

outdone the capitalist world in education, science, and culture and this, too, is a guarantee of the future victory of socialism over capitalism in all spheres of human activity.

Socialism has already demonstrated its advantages to mankind as a great accelerator of social development.

Socialist Society

Two phases of communist society. Marx and Engels, by scientifically analysing capitalism with its contradictions and trends, defined the general principles and features of the new society which succeeds the exploiting capitalist system as a result of the proletariat's victorious revolution. The establishment of this new society means the abolition of private capitalist property, the turning of the means of production into social property, the abolition of the exploiting classes and of all classes in general, and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man and of one nation by another. They called it a communist society.

Marx and Engels also came to the conclusion that communist society would have two phases, the socialist phase and the phase of communism proper. The writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin describe both phases and outline the tasks to be fulfilled in establishing socialism and paving the way for communism.

The first phase, *socialism*, sets in during the

revolutionary destruction of the old way of social life, that is, not on its own basis. Socialism emerges from capitalist society and therefore retains, to use Marx's expression, the birthmarks of the old society in its economy, morals and intellectual development.

The second phase, *communism*, is a higher form of society. It grows out of a firmly-established socialism, which forms its basis.

These two phases of the new system have the important, fundamental thing in common: the means of production belong to society, and the exploitation of man by man has been eliminated. The distinction between them lies in the level of development of the productive forces and in the degree of society's maturity in terms of economy, culture and morality. Social production under socialism is not yet advanced enough for society to adopt the communist principle: "*From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.*" The principle operating at the socialist stage is: "*From each according to his ability, to each according to his work.*" This is necessitated not only by the existing level of production, but by the fact that social consciousness has not yet reached a stage where labour is the prime vital requirement and people work for society of their own free will, according to their ability. The state is absolutely indispensable under socialism, while under communism it will wither away, for everyone will have learned to administer and will actually administer all public affairs.

Marx and Engels discovered the fundamental laws of the greatest revolutionary change in history—the transition from capitalism to socialism—and pointed out the main features of the new society. But unlike the Utopian Socialists, they did not think it possible to preordain, nor did they ever try to preordain, the organisational forms of the society of the future, or the details of its everyday life. "Collective experience," Lenin said in 1918, "the experience of millions can alone give us decisive guidance in this respect, precisely because, for our task, for the task of building socialism, the experience of the hundreds and hundreds of thousands of those upper sections which have made history up to now in feudal society and in capitalist society is insufficient."*

Today socialist society is a reality in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and mankind has a science of socialist construction tested by experience. The experience of building the new society is becoming increasingly rich and varied, and it shows more and more clearly that the principal laws of mankind's development are the same everywhere despite the variety of local conditions and the different forms of transition to socialism.

Social property under socialism. Socialism abolishes for all time the antithesis between property and labour. The producers themselves—the working people—jointly own the means of

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 27, p. 412.

labour they use. The undivided domination of socialist property fully rules out the possibility that the means of production will be turned into an instrument for the exploitation of one section of society by another. This is why production relations between people develop as relations of comradely co-operation and mutual assistance.

Social property under socialism exists in two forms—*public* (state) and *co-operative* property (in the Soviet Union, the latter form is that of collective farms and other co-operatives).

Public (state) property holds a key place in the socialist economy. In the Soviet Union it comprises the land, mineral deposits, forests, industrial establishments, railways, waterways, airways, banks, means of communication—post, telegraph, telephone and radio—state farms, and the basic housing in towns and industrial centres.

There are two forms of socialist economy corresponding to the two forms of socialist property: (1) state undertakings—factories, state farms, repair stations, communal enterprises, etc.; (2) co-operative establishments—peasants' collective farms, and undertakings owned by the consumers' co-operatives.

The leading and decisive role of state property means that the economic conditions of all members of society are equal and that everyone has an equal relation to the decisive means of production, which belong to the whole people. The workers and other employees in state establishments, and the peasants associated in co-operatives

share in labour and the management of production on an equal footing, and receive material and cultural benefits according to the amount and quality of their work.

The chief object of socialist production. Under socialism, the means of production belong to the working people themselves and so the social product belongs to society, that is, the working people as a single, national community. The fruits of labour go to the working people themselves and the citizens of a socialist country are therefore interested in the constant increase of the output of material wealth.

The object of socialist production arises from its very nature. Social production is continuously expanded and improved by using the latest techniques and collective labour *with the aim* of meeting the growing requirements of *all* members of society as fully as possible, and of developing the people in every way.

Socialism is a highly-organised society. Almost all the Utopian Socialists, as well as the enemies of scientific socialism—Proudhon and Bakunin, who opposed the teachings of Marx and Engels in the last century—considered that under socialism and communism society should break up into small communes or associations having few links, if any, with one another. These communes would enjoy complete autonomy in economic and social affairs. They would be free to exchange their surplus products between themselves and render services to one another. But these communes would not con-

stitute a single society—they would merely exist side by side.

Marx and Engels rejected this "ideal" of a disconnected, absolutely decentralised, and in fact disorganised, society. Scientific socialism has proved that such decentralisation runs counter to the laws governing the development of the productive forces. It would undermine production, prevent the use of the achievements of science and technology, and disrupt the growing economic links within a nation and between nations. Socialist society has an immense advantage over capitalism because it combines scattered forces to form the collective strength of the entire society. The rule of public property, that is, the subordination of production as a whole to the socialist state, removes the very possibility of unhealthy competition between producers, between working people, and fosters their solidarity, comradely co-operation, and mutual assistance.

The decentralisation proposed by the anarchist followers of Proudhon and Bakunin ignores the solidarity of the working people. Autonomous communes would find themselves in different natural surroundings and unequal conditions in the fields of technology and labour organisation. Different collectives would differ from one another also in the effectiveness of their labour. Some of them would inevitably be in a better position than others; there would be a growing property inequality between them; mutual claims and discord would arise, a bitter competition would

develop, and the economically strongest collectives would gain the upper hand over the rest. In this way, bourgeois relations of exploitation would be revived on a new basis. The general goal of socialism, which is to improve production continuously so that the people's growing requirements can be met more and more fully, would never be attained and, moreover, would be supplanted by the effort on the part of some groups to gain advantages at the expense of other groups. The anarchist ideal of "complete decentralisation" is reactionary in both economic and social terms.

Socialism and communism are highly-organised societies. Socialist society directs the effort of all its members toward a single end; it creates a single working community. It organises national production, as well as international co-ordination of production. Socialism is an association of free and equal producers who engage in social labour according to a common and rational plan. It replaces capitalist anarchy in production by conscious and methodical activity. The socialist economy is a centralised, planned economy.

The management of economic and cultural development is carried out on the principle of *democratic centralism*. This principle means a close combination of centralism and democracy in the management of each particular establishment or branch and of the national economy as a whole. The development of modern production, which is a single organism, the public character of ownership of the means of production, and the need to

ensure that public interests outweigh local and group interests—these and other factors necessitate a centralised organisation, one-man management, and strict adherence to the instructions of central bodies and their local representatives. At the same time, since socialism is an association of free and equal producers, it is by its very nature unthinkable without mass organisations of the people and every working man or woman taking part in the management and planning of production.

Socialist property gives rise to objective economic laws, among which a special place is held by the law of planned, proportionate economic development. Socialist planning is based on scientific principles and on the growing social consciousness and activity of increasing sections of the working people. The constructive effort of the people provides more and more opportunities for production.

Labour under socialism. The universal character of labour is a principle of socialist and communist society. One of the commandments of socialism is, "He who does not work shall not eat." It is the duty of every able-bodied person to work. All are equally obliged to work, and they enjoy an equal right to be paid according to their work. This removes something which is typical of all exploiting societies, namely, the division of society into a minority that is free from labour but enjoys all the blessings of an easy life, and an immense majority doomed to back-breaking work that does

not provide it with so much as a passable livelihood.

Labour under capitalism is a private matter. A proletarian who is employed by the capitalist and works for him is only concerned with making a living. It is up to him to work or not—it makes no difference to society either way. Under socialism, the labour of every individual is social labour from the beginning, and is never considered to be his own business. Every member of socialist society regards his participation in socially-useful labour not only as a means of earning a living but as fulfilment of his duty, as his contribution to the construction of the new society. In addition to material inducements he has moral stimuli for work. Socialist emulation arises among the workers, in the course of which the more advanced give comradely help to those lagging behind in order to achieve overall progress. The one-time labour discipline based on compulsion gives way to a conscious discipline based on every working man's awareness of his duty toward society, and the fact that he has a personal interest in the fruits of his labour.

Distribution under socialism. In socialist society, not all workers are equally skilled: some perform complex work, using various machines or devices, others do simple jobs. The essential distinction between physical and mental labour is still there. People do not always or cannot always get the job they like. Besides, they have to think of what they can earn for themselves and their families.

Labour has not yet become a prime requirement for every member of society and so not everyone works with enthusiasm, and there are people who try to live at the expense of others.

This calls for control by all people over the amount of labour and the amount of consumption. It is necessary to take account of differences in the proficiency of those who work, and of the varying degrees of complexity of labour, and to provide remuneration in accordance with the amount and quality of the labour expended. The harder and better worker receives more. This system of payment encourages people to improve their skills, take an active part in production, increase output and improve the quality of products.

Under socialism each individual producer receives from society as much as he gives it, minus the share contributed to public funds. There is no more class inequality, but inequality in the share which is distributed persists. It will easily be seen that the principle of equal pay for equal labour under socialism means applying one and the same standard to different people. As people have different gifts and skills, and have families of different sizes, so the incomes they get under the system of equal pay for equal labour are unequal. This is a shortcoming of socialism but one that is inevitable at the first stage of the new society, for at this stage society has not yet achieved an abundance of consumer goods and not all its members have a sufficient degree of

social consciousness. The earnings of all working people cannot be equalised because this would upset the principle of pay according to proficiency and would discourage the effort to improve one's skills.

Public consumption funds intended to meet the citizens' personal requirements become increasingly important under socialism. A part of these funds is spent on free instruction, medical aid, the maintenance of boarding-schools, kindergartens, nurseries, health and holiday homes, clubs, homes for the aged, Young Pioneer camps and tourist centres. Another part goes to the working people in the form of allowances, grants, pensions, scholarships and paid holidays. In the Soviet Union, for example, the state and the collective farms maintain over twenty million pensioners and over five million students. More than 100 million factory and office workers get annual paid holidays. State allowances are paid to six million mothers of large families and unmarried mothers. Every year over seven million Soviet citizens—working people and their children—spend their holidays in health or holiday homes and Young Pioneer camps, their expenses being covered out of social insurance funds. Besides, Soviet children have free education.

Individual pay in the socialist countries still considerably exceeds the benefits received from public funds. But even at the dawn of socialism, funds for the satisfaction of all the people's requirements play a tremendous part in the life

of the people. They bring education at all levels within reach of everyone, and this is also true of free medical aid. The extent of the public health service exceeds by far that of the most developed capitalist countries. Public funds make it possible to put libraries, museums, clubs, houses of culture and numerous other cultural and educational institutions at everyone's disposal. They help the working people to maintain those who cannot earn their living—children, students, sick or disabled people—and provide the aged with adequate pensions.

The share of the funds of public consumption, which are in effect distributed according to the communist principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs", is growing. They are used to meet an increasing proportion of the needs of the members of socialist society.

A society of friendly classes. The only classes left in socialist society are the working classes—workers and peasants, and the social stratum of intellectuals closely associated with either class. The distinctions between these friendly classes are gradually disappearing. Their social standing has changed radically.

Before the socialist revolution the working class had no means of production and was cruelly exploited. Under socialism it owns—together with the whole people—the means of production and plays a leading role in society. This role is determined primarily by the economic position of the

working class, by the fact that it is directly linked with the highest form of socialist property, namely, public property. Furthermore, it is the most organised class. It has the greatest revolutionary experience and a stamina acquired by decades of class struggle. It is the most consistent advocate of progressive social ideals.

The peasants at one time were a class of small producers hardly connected with one another. Most of them were doomed to ruin and permanent need. In socialist society the peasants are a class which is not exploited either by landowners or the urban and rural bourgeoisie. They work together on big socialist farms using machinery. Their incomes have increased to an unprecedented extent; so have their cultural level and their social consciousness.

At one time the top group of the intellectuals was composed of members of the bourgeoisie, and served the exploiting classes. In socialist society the intellectuals come from the families of ordinary workers and peasants and serve all the working people.

Socialism ends the system which subordinates some classes to others. All the classes and sections of the new society are equal in their relation to the means of production, the state, political power, and have equal rights and obligations. Today no one can appropriate the means of production or use them for exploiting other people. In every walk of life, solid foundations are being laid for social equality and justice. All

classes and social groups are akin to one another, and are united in a single community by common interests, views and objectives, by a common struggle and effort to ensure the triumph of the new society. The profound social and political unity of the people is an immense advantage of a socialist society over a capitalist.

Nevertheless, certain distinctions between the working class and the peasantry, as well as between them and the intellectuals, persist under socialism. The distinctions between the workers and peasants are due, first of all, to the existence of two forms of socialist property. The workers are employed in enterprises owned by the whole of society (the state), while the peasants work on farms owned by individual collectives. The two classes also differ in the amount of pay they get and the manner in which this is done. The workers and other employees of state undertakings are paid according to fixed state rates, while the peasant's pay depends on the amount of the overall income of the collective farm he belongs to, which means that pay varies from one collective farm to another. In addition to the income they get from the collective farm, peasants have an income from their individual household plots.

In socialist society socio-economic distinctions survive, as well as distinctions in the cultural level and way of life between town and country, and distinctions between mental and physical labour. The removal of these distinctions, which takes place in the course of transition from socialism

to communism, will mean the final abolition of classes, and the establishment of equality and brotherhood of all free and socially-conscious working people.

Socialist democracy. The proletarian democracy of the period of transition from capitalism gives rise to socialist democracy, a new and higher type of people's rule. Socialism has extended the very concept of democracy by including in it not only the political but also the social rights of the working people.

Socialist society does not merely proclaim the rights of its citizens but guarantees them. To cite an example, the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. grants its citizens the right to labour, rest and leisure, education, and maintenance in old age, in case of illness or disability. These rights are guaranteed by the law and the steady growth of the economic power of the socialist state.

The constitutions of the socialist countries grant their citizens freedom of speech, press, association and assembly, street processions and demonstrations. They guarantee the citizens' right to associate in mass organisations, and safeguard their personal immunity, the inviolability of home and the secrecy of correspondence.

Women in the socialist countries enjoy equal rights in every sphere of economic, political, cultural and social life. They are entitled, on an equal footing with men, to labour, rest and leisure, education, and paid work. The state protects the interests of mother and child, pays allowances to

mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, and grants working women a long maternity leave with full pay. In the Soviet Union, for example, there are numerous maternity homes, consultation centres for mother and child, nurseries, kindergartens, public dining-rooms and laundries.

After it has taken power and crushed the exploiters' resistance, the socialist state's main task is to organise the construction of a new, classless society, the cultural education of the people, and co-operation between the working class and the non-proletarian sections of the working people, above all the peasants. The socialist state uses force only against parasites, exploiters and other socially dangerous elements, that is, against an insignificant minority of society. The chief function of the exploiting state is the use of force against the working people to bolster the system of oppression. In the case of the socialist state, the use of force is not the important thing. The paramount characteristic of the state is the organisation of co-operation between the working class and other sections of the people with the aim of transforming society along socialist lines.

The state of the whole people. When the tasks of the transitional period have been accomplished, the exploiting classes abolished, socialism built and socialist society consolidated, the historical conditions which necessitated the dictatorship of the proletariat cease to exist. Having fulfilled its

historical mission, the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes a socialist state of the whole people.

From its very inception the dictatorship of the proletariat has had the features of a state of the whole people, a democracy for all, because this state expresses the fundamental interests and the will of the overwhelming majority of the people—the working men and women in town and country, led by the working class. The working people manage production and govern the state. They are the masters of their country, and build their lives in accordance with their aspirations. Every new achievement of socialism—such as the victory of socialist relations in every economic field, the abolition of the exploiting classes, the development of the working class itself, the transformation of the peasantry from a class of small proprietors into a class of socialist workers, and the rise of a new, people's intelligentsia—is a further step in the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a national organisation of the working people of socialist society.

The complete and final victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., and the Soviet society's transition to full-scale communist construction have led to the rise of a state of the whole people, in which all social groups are equal and none of them enjoy any privileges.

The working class also plays a leading role in society during the transition from socialism to communism. But this role is not identical with that of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under

which the leading role of the working class was assured by the entire political system. Under the state of the whole people, the working class influences society only in so far as it is engaged in industry, the leading branch of the economy, and by virtue of its high degree of political consciousness and organisation, of its prestige and initiative.

The socialist state of the whole people is a state which is withering away, that is, one which is gradually developing into communist public self-government.

Party of the whole people. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the country's ruling party—came into being and developed as the vanguard of the working class, and the highest form of its class organisation. It also expressed the fundamental interests of all the working people of the country.

During the years of revolutionary struggle and socialist construction the C.P.S.U. won over first the majority and then the whole of the Soviet people to the side of the working class. Under its leadership the exploiting classes were abolished in the Soviet Union and radical economic and social changes were carried out. The devoted, courageous struggle of the working class led by the Party resulted in the non-proletarian sections of the working people, that is, the peasants, artisans and intellectuals, realising the identity of their own vital interests and those of the working class. The aim of the working class—to build a

classless society—became the aim of the people as a whole. All working people adopted the outlook and ideology of the Party, and fully support its policies. The Party has become the vanguard of the whole people. Its ranks are replenished by the best sons and daughters of the working people. It is a truly international party, for its membership includes representatives of more than a hundred nations and nationalities living in the Soviet Union.

All these circumstances, and the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat has become a state of the whole people, have left their imprint on the character of the Party and on its role in the life of society. As a result of the complete and final victory of socialism, the Communist Party of the Soviet working class has become the party of the people as a whole.

Socialism and the individual. Scientific socialism has shown that the true emancipation of the individual can only occur as a result of the socialist revolution.

The rule of capital is the greatest outrage against man. The exploiting system bars the way to the development and the independent creative effort of the vast majority of the people. In the privileged sections of society, capitalism fosters individualism, selfishness, and anti-social qualities, which thrive in the atmosphere of exploitation, self-interest and a cruel struggle for existence.

To emancipate the individual, it is necessary to free all people by changing the social relations

that enslave man. The problem of the individual has to be solved by emancipating the individual through the emancipation of all working people. By liberating itself, society liberates every single person. The socialist revolution, in abolishing private ownership of the means of production, also abolishes the enslavement of the working people. Under socialism no one can shift his share of productive labour on to someone else's shoulders. On the other hand, productive labour itself ceases to be a means of enslaving people and becomes a means of emancipating them. Society enables everyone to develop and use his physical and spiritual gifts, and labour gradually turns from a heavy burden into creative effort, a source of happiness.

With socialism the age-long cruel struggle between individuals and groups of people for a separate, isolated existence ceases. Thereby, as Engels wrote in *Anti-Dühring*, man is "marked off from the rest of the animal kingdom, and emerges from mere animal conditions of existence into really human ones".*

Under socialism the antithesis between personal and public interests, which arose together with private property, makes way for an increasing combination of the two. The members of society who want to improve their condition, have to work for the good of society as a whole. This is the objective basis for the complete identity of

* Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1954, p. 392.

personal and social interests, and is reflected in the minds of people. The new socialist relations force out the remnants of capitalism in the minds of citizens, and help them to get rid of weaknesses and shortcomings inherited from the society of exploiters and self-seekers. The patient everyday educational work carried on by the party and other mass organisations helps to mould the psychology of the new man.

The motive forces of the development of the new society. Marx described human history before the socialist epoch as pre-history, saying that the real history of society begins with the victory of the proletarian revolution. Throughout the pre-history of mankind, the social life of people faced them as something imposed from without. Society and the destinies of its individual members were dominated by objective forces alien to people. Socialist society masters these objective forces more and more. Having recognised them with the aid of Marxism-Leninism, it brings the objective forces under its control and quite consciously begins to create its own history. Mankind makes a leap from the kingdom of necessity into the kingdom of freedom.

Lenin, speaking of a most important characteristic of socialism, said in 1923, when the Soviet people were starting to build a new society, "... We now have an opportunity which rarely occurs in history of ascertaining the period necessary for bringing about radical social changes; we

now see clearly *what* can be done in five years, and what requires much more time."*

Socialist society consciously sets out to do away with outdated forms of production and human relations, and in fact does away with them. It plans social and economic changes in terms of time, that is, estimates how long the development of the productive forces and changes in production relations will take.

There are contradictions in socialist society, although they are not antagonisms, but mostly "growing pains" due to the fact that the new clashes with the old, and the progressive with the backward. These contradictions are settled not through class struggles, for the new society has no classes interested in preserving obsolete practices, but through the co-operation of all classes and groups, which have an equal interest in the triumph of new forms of social relations. Contradictions under socialism are revealed and dealt with, above all, by criticism and self-criticism, which rouse the working people and rally them to accomplish one new task after another.

Socialist society grows stronger as it develops and as its members, no longer divided by the irreconcilable antagonisms of the exploiting system, become more and more united. New motive forces and sources of development arise: the ideological and political unity of society; moral stimuli in labour and in the guidance of

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Moscow, Vol. 3, p. 825.

society; the sense of being the master of one's country, and the resulting awareness of one's responsibility for the common cause, which comes to every citizen of socialist society; socialist emulation as co-operation and a powerful means of improving production; friendship between socialist nations both inside the country and on an international scale; socialist patriotism, that is, devotion to the socialist system and readiness to give one's all, including one's life if necessary, in the cause of one's country; leadership by the revolutionary party, which expresses the collective mind and will of socialist society best of all.

Socialism is in no way an immobile, stagnant society, nor can it be. It improves continuously as it advances. Under socialism, to advance means moving on to a classless, communist society.

Those countries which have built socialism proceed to build communism. The Soviet Union has entered the period of transition from socialism to communism. The Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1961) declared that the present generation of Soviet people will live under communism.

Communist Society

The Programme of the C.P.S.U., adopted in 1961, sets the task of building a communist society, which it defines as follows:

"Communism is a classless social system with one form of public ownership of the means of

production and full social equality of all members of society; under it, the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forces through continuous progress in science and technology; all sources of public wealth will gush forth abundantly, and the great principle 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs' will be implemented.

"Communism is a highly organised society of free, socially conscious working people in which public self-government will be established a society in which labour for the good of society will become the prime vital requirement of everyone, a necessity recognised by one and all, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people."*

The character of transition from socialism to communism. Socialism and communism are not separated from each other by an impenetrable wall but are two phases of one and the same society, communist society. As socialist society matures, it engenders more and more elements of communism, and at a certain stage it develops into a communist society. Every sphere of social life under socialism contains communist features in an embryonic form. Just as blossoms and fruit grow on a plant, so communism grows out of socialism.

To pass from capitalism to socialism, it is necessary to accomplish a socialist revolution, to

* *Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Moscow, 1961, p. 51.

thoroughly reorganise capitalist society, which is based on private property and the exploitation of man by man. The transition from socialism to communism is a development within one and the same social formation. It results not from a political revolution, but from the gradual, methodical development of socialist production, the consolidation of socialism, the consistent implementation of its principles, the withering away of the old and the rise of the new, and the introduction of new, communist practices suggested by reality.

Socialism is a necessary stage in society's advance to a classless, communist system. No country can build a classless society if it by-passes socialism, that is, an objectively necessary stage of development. Following the victory of the socialist revolution society consciously organises its life, bringing objective factors more and more under its control and ceasing to submit blindly to the drift of events. This is not to say, however, that society can do as it pleases, ignoring the objective conditions. It plans production and knows what it can achieve within a certain period, but it cannot make its plans arbitrarily, without taking account of its production potentialities. The more fully socialist society masters objective laws and the more clearly it sees its practical tasks, the more effectively it promotes its own development.

With due regard to real possibilities and on the strength of scientific calculations, the Programme of the C.P.S.U. states that communist society in

the Soviet Union will in the main be built by 1980.

The construction of communist society consists of three major tasks: (1) the provision of the material basis for communism, (2) the formation of communist social relations, and (3) the education of the new man, a builder and citizen with a high sense of social responsibility. These tasks are closely interlinked. They express different aspects of the single process of transforming socialist into communist society.

The material and technical basis for communism. Scientific socialism has proved that the powerful and all-round development of the productive forces is a decisive condition for the development of socialism into communism. As the productive forces grow, socialist production relations will improve, and will, at a certain stage, become communist relations. Hence the chief task in the period of transition from socialism to communism is to provide the material and technical basis for communism. Why?

Because it is only the provision of this basis that will make it possible, first, to achieve an unprecedented growth of the productive forces and ensure the highest productivity of labour, equip people with the most perfect technical facilities, transform labour into a source of inspiration and joy, and make it truly creative;

secondly, to stimulate the production of material benefits for the purpose of meeting people's requirements fully, achieve the highest standard

of living for the population, and to pave the way for distribution according to people's needs;

thirdly, to gradually transform socialist into communist social relations, create a classless society, eliminate the essential distinctions between town and country, between mental and physical labour, and educate the new man.

What does the provision of the material and technical basis for communism mean?

It means, first of all, fully electrifying the country and on this basis improving techniques, technologies, and the organisation of social production in all economic branches. The Soviet Union plans to be generating from 2,700,000 to 3,000,000 million kilowatt-hours of electricity in 1980, or roughly fifty per cent more than all the other countries of the world put together are generating today.

Electricity will make it possible to introduce all-round mechanisation and automation into production. Automation alleviates labour, vastly promotes its productivity, and thoroughly changes the very nature of labour. It brings physical and mental labour closer together, leads to the elimination of essential distinctions between them, and reduces the working time needed.

One of the tasks envisaged is to make extensive use of chemistry in the economy, promote the production of artificial materials and, in general, encourage the growth of new profitable branches of production, new types of power and new materials.

The development of heavy industry—the chemical, power, fuel, iron and steel, engineering and metal-working branches—plays a leading part in providing the material and technical basis for communism. Heavy industry technically re-equips every economic branch: the consumer goods industries, agriculture, building, transport and communications, as well as the branches directly satisfying the needs of the population, namely, public catering, the health service, housing construction, and the communal services. In 1980 the Soviet Union will be producing almost twice as much as the whole capitalist world is producing today. The vigorous development of agriculture will create communist abundance and provide conditions for the transition to communist social relations in the countryside as well.

To fulfil the vast programme for communist construction and create an abundant supply of material and spiritual benefits, it is necessary to increase labour productivity steadily. Communism will defeat capitalism by achieving the greatest productivity of social labour, which is unthinkable under an exploiting system.

The material and technical basis for communism is also being provided by intimately co-ordinating science and production, with science and technology making continuous and rapid progress. The Soviet Union has already built atomic power stations, atom-powered ships, and intricate computers. Outer space was first reached by artificial satellites of the earth built in the U.S.S.R., a

socialist country. Those who blazed the trail into space are citizens of socialist society. Yuri Gagarin, the first cosmonaut, and Valentina Nikolayeva-Tereshkova, the first woman cosmonaut, enjoy world renown. Soviet science continues to make progress, introducing more and more achievements into every field of production.

The provision of a material and technical basis for communism also means a high cultural and technical standard on the part of the working people, and the formation of workers of a new type—people with a high degree of social consciousness, sound scientific knowledge, and a broad cultural outlook.

Improving the people's standard of living. Production under socialism is aimed at meeting people's material and cultural requirements as fully as possible. The new 20-year Programme of the C.P.S.U. envisages a higher standard of living than that in any capitalist country. This goal will be attained in step with the provision of the material and technical basis for communism.

Socialism guarantees all its citizens free education and medical aid, full-time employment, and cultural facilities. It steadily improves and extends social maintenance, improves housing conditions, keeping rent at a low rate, and so on. During the transition from socialism to communism the people's standard of living improves still further, conditions are created for the introduction of the communist principle of distribution according to people's needs, and differences in

the living standards of the population are gradually removed.

Between 1960 and 1980 the incomes of every working citizen of the Soviet Union will increase by more than 250 per cent. This increase will result from higher wages, the abolition of taxes, and extension of public consumption funds.

The output of fabrics, clothing, footwear, wireless and television sets, refrigerators and other consumer goods and household articles will grow to a tremendous extent. Every family will have a separate modern flat. A new type of dwelling will be created and new towns and villages will spring up combining the best features of urban civilisation and the natural advantages of rural surroundings—lots of green plants and fresh air.

Factory and office workers will work six hours a day, with one day-off, or thirty-five hours a week with two days-off. In the case of underground and other jobs in unhealthy conditions, a five-hour day, or a thirty-hour week, will be established. Subsequently, growing labour productivity will make it possible to cut working hours still more.

Women will be rid of many household cares, for the family will have perfect household machines and appliances, public catering will assume a large scale, and all communal services will improve tremendously.

During the transition from socialism to communism remuneration according to the amount and quality of work will continue to be the main

method by which the people's material and cultural needs will be met. This is necessitated not only by the level of production but also by the level of social consciousness of the members of society, and is an indispensable factor in stimulating labour. At the same time, differences in remuneration will be gradually levelled out, not by artificial equalisation but by labour becoming increasingly skilled as a result of progress in mechanisation and automation.

Public consumption funds will grow faster than individual pay, and will account for half the total real income of the population by the end of 1980.

These are some of the requirements which society will undertake to meet:

- free maintenance of children in nurseries, kindergartens and boarding-schools; free hot breakfasts, free lunch in extended-day schools; free school uniforms and textbooks. The job of equipping every school with training workshops, laboratories, gymnasiums and sports grounds, and of providing conditions for the pursuit of amateur arts—music, painting, sculpture, etc.—will be completed;

- maintenance of the disabled; the establishment of a large network of well-appointed homes for the free maintenance of the aged and disabled;

- rent-free housing and free electricity, gas, water and heating;

- free use of public transport;

- gradual introduction of free lunches in factories, public offices and collective farms.

It follows that by the end of 1980 society will be meeting half the requirements of the people free of charge, on a basis of equality for all. What we mean is not so much private needs (clothing, footwear, etc.) as facilities which people use collectively, sharing them with one another. At the same time increased individual income will bring within reach of everyone those of the material benefits that will still have to be paid for. From this it will be only one step to the gratuitous, communist distribution of all benefits and services.

Labour under communism. Labour under communism will remain the source of all wealth. Communism obliges every member of society to work according to his ability. So does socialism. But under communism the character of labour will change, it will require less strain, and the working day will be shorter, with the result that participation in production will become an interesting and stimulating occupation for everyone. In these circumstances, labour will become a prime requirement for people. According to Lenin's definition, it will be "labour performed because it has become a habit to work for the common good, and because of a conscious realisation (become a habit) of the necessity of working for the common good—labour as the requirement of a healthy organism".*

* V. I. Lenin, *Questions of the Socialist Organisation of the Economy*, Moscow, 1964, p. 270.

In communist production, every worker will perform such work as today is performed by engineers or technologists.

The working week will be twenty to twenty-five hours, that is, four or five hours a day, and will later be cut even more. The old division of labour will be abolished, which means that everyone will be able to choose the job that suits his gifts and inclinations best, to engage in the kind of work he prefers, or switch from one job to another. Everyone will be in a position to develop and use his gifts and abilities to the full. A shorter working day is imperative for production under socialism and communism, for with a high standard of production the workers must improve their skills continuously and extend their horizons. The member of communist society will have a great deal of leisure time but he will not idle it away. He will sensibly select different cultural pursuits, scientific research, artistic endeavour, physical training and sports, and participation in public self-government. The working man will not have to worry about wages, for society will have taken it upon itself to meet his every need. In the new society, labour will be held in high esteem and will serve as a standard of human dignity for everyone.

To each according to his needs. Socialism paves the way for the realisation of the fundamental principle of communism, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". Before distribution according to people's needs can

be introduced, an abundant supply of material benefits must be created. It is also important to heighten the culture and social consciousness of people, so that everyone will work truly according to his ability and take from society only what he really needs to meet his reasonable requirements.

The socialist principle of distribution according to labour helps create the necessary conditions for the transition to the communist principle of distribution. It makes for growing labour productivity and social wealth, and induces the workers to improve their cultural and technical standards. Distribution according to labour develops in every member of society the habit of working according to his ability. The combination of individual income according to the amount and quality of work, on the one hand, and public consumption funds, on the other, will bring society closer and closer to communism. Public consumption funds, which are intended for the gratuitous satisfaction of the requirements of the members of society, will steadily grow in importance. The time will come when the principle of distribution according to the work accomplished will have spent itself economically; there will be an abundant supply of material and cultural benefits, labour will become a vital requirement for every member of society, and it will no longer be necessary to offer those who work material incentives.

It is then that distribution according to people's needs will become an economic necessity. Such

a form of distribution will contribute most of all to increased production and rapid social progress, for it "allows *all* members of society to develop, maintain and exercise their capacities with maximum universality", as Engels put it.* Communist society will be wealthy enough, not only to meet the citizens' demand for clothing, housing and other necessities in full, but also to supply everything that a cultured man needs for a full life. Man has few needs that are met individually. Those of his needs that have to be met on a collective basis will become of tremendous importance. The riches of present-day capitalism will be dwarfed by the wealth of communist society.

People will get rid, completely and for good, of considerations of income, of greed and the quest for material gain. Money will become unnecessary. As a result, the minds of people will become healthy, and people will at last be able to serve lofty interests, among which the interests of society will come first. People's needs will grow continuously, but those will be the reasonable needs of harmoniously developed individuals, and communist society, as it gives rise to new human requirements, will find ways and means of meeting them.

Communist property. Under communism, property in means of production and in industrial and agricultural products will exist in only one form, that of *communist property of the whole*

* Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1954, p. 278.

people. The two forms of social property existing under socialism—state and co-operative (the latter being, in the case of the U.S.S.R., the property of collective farms and other co-operatives)—will develop to such an extent that they will merge into a single communist property. The socialist town helps collectivised farming more and more. The links between town and country in the spheres of production, culture and political activities are growing continuously, and co-operation and mutual assistance between workers and peasants are becoming closer. Social, economic, cultural and other distinctions between town and country are being eliminated, agriculture is becoming richer in power and technical facilities, and increasing agricultural production is becoming less and less dependent on natural conditions. The result is that the co-operative form of property is gradually rising to the level of public property.

The development of socialist into communist property also expresses itself in that the working people take an increasingly active and useful part in the control of production and public property.

Communist property will be the embodiment of an abundant supply of material benefits, which will be within reach of all members of society alike. It will no longer be associated with commodity and money relations. It will mean not only an equal relation of all members of society to the means of production as their collective master, but an equal opportunity for everyone to exercise this equality, since all survivals of

social distinctions in labour (between mental and physical labour, between agricultural and industrial, skilled and unskilled, and so on), as well as of differences in the working people's cultural, technical and living standards, will have been eliminated.

Personal property under communism will extend to a specific range of articles which are consumed by the individual and cannot be socialised by their very nature, such as clothing, footwear, etc. There will be inexhaustible public funds from which the people's growing material and spiritual needs will be met to the full.

Classless society. Single public ownership of the means of production will constitute the economic basis of classless society. No basis will be left for the survival of any class division.

The exploiting classes are already abolished under socialism. But the complete abolition of classes means not only that the exploiters—the landowners and capitalists must be overthrown but also that their property and private property in general must be abolished. It is also necessary to remove the distinctions between town and country, and the distinction between physical and mental labour.

Thereby the ultimate goal of the historic struggle of the working class will be achieved: the classes will have been abolished and a society based on complete equality will have been created.

During the transition from socialism to communism the distinctions between the working

class and the peasantry are gradually eliminated by the two forms of socialist property drawing ever closer together and finally merging. The cultural and technical standards of the workers and peasants will improve steadily, resulting in the disappearance of the distinctions between the working class, the peasantry and the intellectuals. The new society will become more and more homogeneous in social composition. The unity of socialist society, in which vestiges of class distinctions survive, will develop into the still more solid unity of a classless society. Under communism there will be no more social distinctions between people, because they will all be producers.

In this way the actual equality of all will be achieved. Every member of society will, irrespective of his contribution to social production, have an equal opportunity to work for society according to his ability, to enjoy all the blessings of life, take part in the decision of common matters, freely follow his own idea of his public duty toward society, and develop as an individual. This opportunity for the actual equality of all will be unlimited. Marx wrote that under communism even "*a different form of activity, of labour, does not justify inequality, confers no privileges in respect of possession and enjoyment*".*

Self-government under communism. The founders of scientific socialism showed that the state

* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, 1964, Vol. II, p. 593.

will inevitably wither away under communism. The working people's state comes in increasing measure to represent the entire society, the whole people. With the victory of the socialist revolution, the defeat of the exploiters, and the consolidation of socialism, the functions of the state change more and more. There are no irreconcilable antagonisms in socialist society, such as could produce clashes between classes, nor does one class dominate another. And when society introduces the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs", the state will be able to wither away altogether. No control will be required over the amount of labour and of consumption, for people will have grown used to keeping the basic rules of the new life. Their labour will become highly productive and they will work of their own free will, according to their ability. Distribution will necessitate no rationing, for everyone will freely take what he needs.

Communist society will be a highly organised and harmonious commonwealth of working people. Its high standard of production, science and technology will call for a planned and organised distribution of labour by industries, and for the organisation of an overall management of industry. But it will no longer be control over people; it will be control over things, which will be exercised not by state bodies or political organisations, but by those of the general public. All coercion will become unnecessary and so there

will be no need of a machinery of compulsion, of legal standards confirmed by special legislation and protected by judicial and punitive institutions.

Socialist society rests on the free co-operation of its members, under which human freedom will completely triumph. Education and persuasion will become the sole methods of regulating the life of society. For the members of communist society, respect for the public interest and the rules of public intercourse will become second nature.

Communism's public self-government grows out of socialist democracy. All citizens participate in the affairs of their country, in economic and cultural development. State functions will gradually be transferred to mass organisations and to public self-government bodies.

Education of the new man. Under communism, active participation in socially-useful labour, a thoughtful attitude to public property, strict observance of the rules of the community, honesty and discipline will become a conscious habit and a moral duty of everyone.

However, the education of the new man is a long and complicated process. People's consciousness lags behind their living and social environment. It takes time to overcome the survivals of capitalism in the minds of *all*, and to change the habits and morals of millions of people, such as have developed over the centuries. In the course of labour, of the construction of the new society,

and of varied social activities, not only is the material and technical basis created, but new people are educated on a mass scale, and survivals of the past disappear. The people's consciousness is not merely influenced by objective factors, for subjective factors are also of great importance. The new man cannot be moulded without persistent, systematic and purposive education work, by the revolutionary party. The party educates the builders of socialism and trains them for life under communism. It draws more and more members of society into educational work, using the moral weight and prestige of public opinion to carry on this activity.

All-round development of the individual. One of the aims of communism is to allow complete freedom for the development of man's personality, to create a new man who will harmoniously combine creative labour and social activity, spiritual wealth and moral purity, artistic education and physical perfection. The all-round development of man is an objective necessity of communism, one of its laws. Only harmoniously developed people will be able to carry on production in the society of the future and participate in the spiritual life of that society and in public self-government.

Universal security, a system of hygiene and health protection carried to perfection, and a reasonable way of life will contribute to man's health, cheerfulness, energy and longevity. Communist distribution will free people from the problem of making a living and from slavish attachment to

property. Human relations, including those within the family, will be completely cleared of money considerations and will be fully based on mutual attachment, the complete identity of interests, friendship and love. Everyone will have unlimited opportunities of bringing out and using his gifts and of improving them continuously. Mankind will enjoy life in full measure. Thus the age-long dream of all the generations of mankind, who have longed for an abundant supply of everything for all, for freedom and equality, peace, brotherhood and co-operation among people, will come true.

* * *

Capitalism and colonialism are mankind's yesterday. Nowadays socialism has become a mighty force, a real society that is being created over huge expanses of the globe. The ideas of scientific socialism are winning over more and more millions of people of every continent.

The unity of all revolutionary forces—the socialist countries, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the working class and other working people of all countries, the unity under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and its component part, scientific socialism—is a guarantee of victory in the struggle against imperialism.

The new world will not come automatically. It is being born in a bitter struggle against the forces of the old world. But the forces that will

renovate the world on revolutionary lines are invincible. The exploiting system will leave the stage of history. No one can change or prevent this. Every country and every people will come to socialism as inevitably as one season succeeds another, as day succeeds night.

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Л. М. Минаев

**ВОЗНИКНОВЕНИЕ И ПРИНЦИПЫ
НАУЧНОГО СОЦИАЛИЗМА**

На английском языке